



MONA ANTIQUA RESTAURATA: AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL
DISCOURSE ON THE ANTIQUITIES, NATURAL AND HISTORICAL,
OF THE ISLE OF ANGLESEY, THE ANCIENT SEAT OF THE DRUIDS.
IN TWO ESSAYS. WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING A
COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRIMITIVE WORDS, AND THE
DERIVATIVE

HENRY ROWLANDS

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Henry Rowlands

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Mona Antiqua Restaurata.

A N
ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOURSE
ON THE
A N T I Q U I T I E S,
NATURAL and HISTORICAL,
OF THE
ISLE OF ANGLESEY,

The Ancient Seat of the British Druids.

In TWO ESSAYS.



WITH AN
A P P E N D I X,

CONTAINING

A Comparative Table of Primitive Words, and the Derivatives of them
in several of the Tongues of Europe, with Remarks upon them.

TOGETHER WITH
SOME LETTERS, and THREE CATALOGUES.

By HENRY ROWLANDS,
Vicar of LLANIDAN, in the Isle of ANGLESEY.

The SECOND EDITION, Corrected and Improved.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

R I C H A R D,

LORD VISCOUNT FITZWILLIAM OF MERION,

BARON OF THORN-CASTLE,

KNIGHT OF THE BATH, &c. &c.

PERMIT me, my Lord, to usher into the world this Second Edition of Mr. ROWLANDS' Account of ANGLESEY---an Island which you well know---under the favour of your Lordship's Patronage. It may be, perhaps, some pleasure to you to travel the country over again, and view the Curiosities of it, by the light and direction of this learned antiquary. It is, I am
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sure, great pleasure to me, that I have it in my power thus to acknowledge your kindness and friendship, and publicly to declare with how great esteem and true regard, I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

HENRY OWEN.

A D V E R.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AS this Book, notwithstanding the inaccuracies of the First Edition *, met with a favourable reception from the world; we thought it a duty incumbent upon us, not only to clear it of those typographical errors, but also to render it still more worthy of public regard by the following improvements; viz.

1. By revising and correcting the language throughout, so far as was consistent with the resolution of preserving the Book the same.

2. By rectifying the mistakes which our author had committed in relation both to Facts and Inscriptions, and adding explanatory notes, where they were thought necessary.

3. By inserting a new and correct Map of the Island, instead of that ridiculous, imaginary one, that disgraced the former edition.

4. By continuing the Catalogues of Members of Parliament, &c. to the present time. And by several other important additions.

For most of these improvements the public is indebted to the late ingenious Mr. Lewis Morris; whose Work, entitled, **CELTIC REMAINS**, whenever it is published, will exhibit a noble and curious specimen of his great abilities and knowledge of antiquity.

* The First Edition, printed at Dublin A. D. 1723, for want of some proper person to revise the sheets, came out very incorrect. The author died before it was published.

T H E

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

ARCHÆOLOGY, or an Account of the Origin of Nations after the Universal Deluge, admits of two ways of enquiry,——either beginning at Babel, the place of mankind's dispersion, and tracing them downwards to our own times by the light of records, which is History, and of natural reason, which is Inference and Conjecture; or else beginning from our own time, and winding them upwards, by the same helps, to the first place and origin of their progression;——both which ways are usually taken by Historians and Genealogists, and are equally to be allowed in their manner of proceeding. By the former of these methods I have in the following Sections adventured through some of the darkest tracks of time, to calculate the Archæology, and to fetch out and put together some rude strokes and lineaments of the ANTIQUITIES of the ISLE of ANGLESEY, from its first planting to the time of the Roman Conquest, mostly in an hypotheticalal way, or a rational scheme of enquiry.

A method, I confess, very unusual; viz. to trace the footsteps of historical actions any other way, than by that of ancient memoirs and records. But where those lights are wanting, what shall we do? Shall we lie down with our forefathers in the general slumber, blaming the past ages for leaving us

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in the dark ; or like the men of Egypt, shall we only confine our view to the preterfluent stream of Nile, and resolve to look no higher, because, it is said, its fountain-head lies hid beyond the mountains of the moon? No; that were to act unfaithfully with the designs of nature : Knowledge is her gift from God to us ; and we ought to employ all the means and helps she affords, to improve and enlarge it.

The main and principal helps to guide us through the dark recesses of time, are the testimonies of unexceptionable records, and such consequences as are naturally deducible from them. These are like the solar rays; where-ever they shine, there is sure and perfect light ; and the motion guided by them is even, steady and regular.

There are other things, as analogy of ancient names and words ; ancient laws, constitutions, and customs ; coins and medals ; erections, monuments, and ruins ; edifices and inscriptions ; the appellations of places ; the genius, tempers, inclinations, and complexions of people ; and a variety of such remarks, which afford here and there little streaming lights to be cautiously and warily made use of, and which we ought likewise to scan and examine jointly and severally, and from them extract such secondary supplies and assistances, as may help to fill up and enlighten those obscure chasms and interlineary spaces of time, which interrupt the brighter strokes, and more undeniable certainties of records. And in this manner, by a just proportionate disposal of the lights and shadows of Truth, we may undertake to represent the accounts and transactions of the remotest time, though not as certain, yet what is next to it, as highly probable, coherent and intelligible.

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By the first of these, viz. the unexceptionable testimonies of Records, divine and human, and the consequences I could justly draw from them, I was assisted to lay down the main draught and ground-work of this rude Essay. Here I had sure footing; and I have been careful all along, to conclude nothing with assurance and certainty, but what is built on this evidence.

The other collateral helps I make use of, according to the degree and quality of their evidence, to complete and fill up the vacuities of this draught with shadows of conjectures and probabilities; and what conclusions I draw from that sort of evidence, I always propound as uncertain and only probable; leaving every one at his own liberty, either to judge them so, or to make (if he please) better guesses; preserving always a just and strict regard to the due proportions and measures between causes and effects, and effects and causes, as they come in my way; which I ever reckon the main concern of hypothetical discourses.

And indeed I must confess I could never yet see a reason why in some cases an hypothetical discourse or a conjectural way of accounting, when it is performed with caution and due regard to peculiar circumstances, should not be as applicable to the history of places and actions, as it is allowed to be to that of nature; and that in some cases it is so, I shall in a proper place endeavour to evince.

I own that This now offered to public view was at first only designed for the exercise of private thoughts and the perusal of a few friends; and that it is at best but a weak testimony of

the strong desires I had of retrieving the almost-lost accounts and antiquities of my Native Country, out of the deep obscurities of time and prevailing oblivion; towards which if my poor endeavours can but contribute the smallest mite, I have my aim; and do wish that some abler hand, better qualified for such a performance, would undertake to give the world an ample satisfactory Account, from the Nature of Things, from Records, Traditions, remaining Monuments, and from such other lights and evidences as occur, of the Antiquities of this Island; which I find hath been effected in other parts of the nation, with no small acceptance and satisfaction. —

This I shall yet farther premise, that where I have been inclined to derive many ancient names of things, appertaining to religion and other ancient usages, from the primitive Hebrew tongue, I would entreat the reader not to determine in prejudice thereto, till he sees the accounts I give, relating to that matter, in my Remarks on the Comparative Table towards the end of the book; where I hope he will upon perusal find good grounds for what I did, and therein to his doubts, if he has any, a reasonable satisfaction.

As to the origin of nations, and many things depending upon it, it is very presumptive that the most ancient memoirs of things, the Sacred excepted, were at first built on this foundation; viz. on Inferences and Conjectures; yet, when recorded, and transmitted to posterity, their credit advanced as they grew in age, and they soon came to be what they called Authentic Histories; as if being recorded had been a sufficient pledge of their authority, and the best title to truth and certainty; and a farther reasoning into things, never after
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to be attempted ; whereas upon a just consideration of this affair, it will (I presume) appear, that it is the best service and the greatest justice done to history to have its foundations well ascertained ; and where they are not, no age is too late, by all the means and helps that reason and nature can afford, to endeavour their being so, which is the aim of these Essays ; and where those means appear to be earlier and clearer than suspected records, I hope the reader will be more just and candid than to despise and reject them ; the reasons whereof shall be more fully explained in the Introduction to the Second Essay.

To conclude, whatever is offered to the public of this kind must undergo variety of censures : Every one there has a right to judge, though few have the abilities to judge rightly. Criticism is an undefined thing, under no settled rule, often governed by prejudice or passion, by humour or fancy ; whence it frequently comes to pass, that what is agreeable to one taste is displeasing to another. To please All is impossible ; to have Faults is unavoidable.

———*Vitiis nemo sine nascitur : optimus ille est,*

Qui minimus urgetur.———

Hor. lib. I. sat. iii.

“ To have no errors is a privilege above the condition of humanity ; under it, happiest is he who has fewest of them.”

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O B S E R V A -

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
ISLAND OF ANGLESEY.

THE FIRST ESSAY,

SECTION I.

Of Islands in general.

ANGLESEY, antiently by Latin writers called Mona, is an island, and one of the counties of North Wales according to the present division, separated from the main land by a narrow arm of the sea. It is seated in a temperate air, enlivened by a benign sun, and enriched with a good and bountiful soil. But to account for its primary and natural origination, I must beg leave, from the consideration of so small a spot of ground, to make some research into the original state of things, and lay down the physical immediate causes of all islands in general; which I shall endeavour to unfold by these propositions following; and then establish a particular conclusion relating to this island.

FIRST, The creation of this terrestrial globe, both by the word of God and the light of nature, seems to suppose two distinct consistencies in the inferior chaos, viz. Earth and Water; at first commixed and huddled together in one formless blend or fluid, till the Almighty Spirit, moving upon the face of that deep or fluid, made the distinct parts of it exert their peculiar tendencies and gravitation: which parts so moved and agitated by the Creator's hand, and then pursuing the mechanical tracts of motion, at length formed and brought forth those separations,

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which

which the Holy Scriptures call "the gathering together of the waters, and the appearing of the dry land."

SECONDLY, Then it follows that the gross and heavy particles of the arid or dry earth, the sediment of that fluid, by the mechanical law of motion they were obliged to pursue, gravitating and sinking lowermost, by closing and uniting together, compressed and squeezed out the more thin and fluid ones, *i. e.* the watry particles: the former by their tenacity knitting together formed one solid but uneven and channelled round; and the latter more light and voluble ones, seeking also the center of gravity, but being borne off by the dense orb, flowed about; and by filling up the depths and bottoms of the earth's uneven, and channelled surface, left the protuberant and more elevated tracts thereof to be habitable Land, and the depressed and lower regions, covered with these waters, to be that which is called Sea or Ocean.

THIRDLY, This watry heap, being held up by the indissoluble density of the earth, and being every where of its own nature a ponderous lubric fluid, and as a consequent of that, of the like distance from every part of its superficies to the center of gravity; I say, this watry heap must therefore necessarily keep up in all parallels of the terraqueous globe to a constant exact altitude; and the arch or altitude being (as is said) every where equidistant from the central point, it will hence necessarily follow that the universal surface of the water, considered in its intire and spreading bulk, must be exactly globous; as when lines of equal length are drawn from one point or center, their ends must necessarily terminate in a perfect circle.

FOURTHLY, This has been the approved and established theorem of the rotundity of the terraqueous globe, but is now of late indeed somewhat shocked by the new notion of the spheroidal figure of the earth, and consequently of the incumbent fluid: which is the hypothesis of Huygens, Sir Isaac Newton, Dr. Burnett, and others. But as to the stress of my argument, viz. that there must be allowed a given arch or altitude of the watry surface from the common center always constant and certain, in respect to the central point; that hypothesis affects it not: it may indeed a little alter the form, but not the force of the reason. For supposing the spheroidality (whether oblate or oblong it matters not in this case) of the terraqueous globe to be undeniably demonstrated (which as yet is not *) by these persons; and that the

* Since the publication of this book in 1723, the spheroidal figure of the earth has been undeniably demonstrated by the mensurations of the French academicians. But this affects not our author's hypothesis.

diurnal rotation of the earth and water about their common axis should in some part contract, and in another part dilate the convex surface of the globe, somewhat out of an exact spherical roundness; yet this rotation being always determinate and uniform, the arch or surface of the fluid, though it be not exactly spherical, must keep to a constant exact altitude; that is, it must have a distance from the surface to the center always equal to itself in every particular parallel; which in effect amounts to the same thing as if it were perfectly globous.

And therefore from these propositions it is plainly demonstrable, that the cavernous and furrowed parts or regions of the earthy surface, which lay beneath this determined arch or altitude, the flowing Element (wanting proper bounds) if it finds a way irresistibly breaks in and covers; I say, if it finds a way; for there may be some depressions of the earthy surface, occasioned perhaps by earthquakes or other accidents, which are even below that altitude, and yet remain dry; because the sea may be either artificially banked and kept out, or naturally defended from flowing in: but it is rarely that any continues long so, without an inlet opened by Nature's own hand; that is, gulphed or furrowed at the original formation of the earth, or forced and broke open by the impetuous assaultings of this furious element to run in and possess its own limits.

Of this latter particular Geography supplies us with some instances, namely, that of Gibraltar; where the narrow Gut (whether naturally or adventitiously so is uncertain) lets in the whole Mediterranean sea to all that tract it now possesses, and unites it to the ocean.

Thus we find the whole globe to be but one heap of earth and water, lodged and settled within their appointed limits. And though upon this same globe, the largest tracts of earth, because somewhere surrounded, may be called islands; yet those lesser circuits of land, those smaller wens and protuberances of the solid round are more properly so called, to distinguish them from the greater, which are more fitly called continents: as Britain from Europe, Anglesey from Britain, &c.

On these grounds therefore I conceive the fret or channel of *Menai*, which divides the isle of Anglesey from the adjacent continent and makes it an island, to have been originally (at least the greatest part of it) beneath that arch or global point before specified; and consequently that the great fluid or running bulk of water, finding access at both ends of it to flow in, made that tract in the beginning, or soon after, an island environed by the sea.

SECTION II.

Of the river Menai, and whether Anglesey was originally divided by it from the continent.

I WILL not affirm that this spot of ground was an island from the creation. For it is highly probable that the universal deluge made great and remarkable alterations on the face of the globe, raising some places which had been sea into dry land, and depressing others that were land beneath the irruptions of that liquid element, made them seas. Yet it is not altogether unlikely, that there was for some space of time after the divulsions of the deluge, an arm of land joining the country of Anglesey to that of Caernarvonshire. If any such there was, it must have been near *Portbaeth-bwy*; where there is still to be seen a trace of small rocks jetting out in a line and crossing the channel, with other great splinters of rocks fallen and tumbled down, and appearing as if the sea had consumed and eaten away the soil in which they had been originally fixed, leaving the rocks bare and rugged, and the stones and broken shivers of the rocks in the bottom of the channel fallen and tumbled one upon another.

In the hollows and cavernous interstices of these fallen and broken rocks the sea for an hour or two at the beginning of flood (two currents separated by a rock conjoining and strongly clashing in that place) violently boils and fluctuates, making it for that time a very dangerous passage; and giving it the name of *Pwll-Ceris**, I conceive, as being the lowest stream or current, *Cer-issa*: There being (as I said) a divided current in that place.

But if there was a small isthmus or ridge of land blocking the current in that place, as indeed these rocks seem to have been the natural foundation supporting an arm of land that extended from one side to the other, if such there was, yet the sea with its unruly surges daily coming up at both sides of it in an uninterrupted channel, soon eat away the soft oozy soil that landed and made up the intervals of these rocks, and by its repeated irruptions and frequent overflowings quite consumed it in a short time; and forced a passage so as to become one continued channel from one end to the other.

* It should have been *Kerit*, and not *Cerit*. In Mr. Vaughan of Hengwrt's MS. of *Nenpius* it is *Pwll Kerit*. *Cer-issa* is only a fanciful derivation.

It may well be affirmed, that this fret or river of Menai to this mentioned middle place is the original work of nature; or a great crack or scissure in the internal strata of the earth, at what time soever that happened. And though this channel might become one entire dividing arm of sea between those two lands in a few years after the flood, yet it may in no wise be granted to be then near so broad and so deep as it is now: for we must allow the force and agitation of storms, the flux and reflux of tides, to have beaten and washed upon, worn and sunk away, a great deal of the soft and earthy banks on each side of it; and the bottom also to have been consumed and hollowed by the sea's sharp acrimonious quality*; so that it must be now much deeper and wider than at first we can imagine it to have been.

To this also we may add the quarrying and carrying off stones from the rocky banks of it, for building public and private edifices; which ease of digging and conveniency of water-carriage invited men to, and which did not a little enlarge and widen the boundaries of it. And whoever does but observe and take exact notice of the natural descents and declivities of some grounds on each side of it, and withal takes a proportional estimate of what was torn and wasted away of the banks, from the lower part now of those descents to the surface of the water, supposing (as it is very reasonable so to do) those descents to have been equal and uniform to the brink of the channel, will find reason to think this channel at the beginning to have been very narrow, and in some places perhaps not very deep.

I have observed on some coasts along this river's side long rows of large stones lying in a line one by another many yards below the now full sea-mark, as if they had been antiently *terfynau*, fences or boundaries between the land and shore. And in some places you may observe another series of such stones running parallel to the lowermost row, and lying between it and the land, as if that likewise in some ages after had been made boundary: of which I can give no other account than that the lowermost row was the first and most antient boundary, fixed on a deep earthy soil; which the sea undermining and perpetually consuming and washing away, the stones fixed thereon sunk by degrees lower and lower, one row after another, till they became as we now find them. And there is little doubt but that those walls or rows:

* Salt water wears the bottom of rivers where the tide comes no more than fresh water; and therefore we can allow this assertion but little weight.

of stones which lye now as present boundaries between sea and land on deep earthy soils, future ages will behold also like others fallen and tumbled, sunk and covered under water.

And as the depredations of the sea, on the soft, yielding, earthy shores, on the island's side of this channel, has undermined, sunk, and swallowed some quantities of land; so the scouring off and throwing up of the small stones and pebbles from those ravished banks into great beds of beach, on such places and jets as most oppose the direct currency and undulation of the water along the channel, has gained some, and barred it up from swallowing more; as may be observed, First, At *Abermenai*, where a formed bank of beach extends from * *Twyn Ceinwen* to the ferry; and being broke there by the channel reaches on the other side to *Dinas Dinllow* †, as a pier or bulwark to *Dinllow-marsh*. Secondly, At *Pwelly Fwch* by *Portbamel*, where a bank of beach has hemmed in and recovered a large field from the sea. Thirdly, At *Moely Don*, the *Penrbyn*, where the ferry-boat rides, seems to have been anciently an island, at least at full sea; where a bank of beach to the S.W. and an accumulated bed of sand at the back of the beach, has now filled up the interval, and made it one continued point of land. And, lastly, Near *Beaumaris*, the Point called *Osfond's Ait* and the Green by the town are a mere collection of small pebbles landed there by the undulating tempestuous force of the sea; though between those two beaches, a considerable piece of land was, in lieu of what it stored up there, ravished and consumed away by the insulting element to the very walls of the town.

Now, as to these inundations and demolishings of the sea that have happened here as well as in many other places, they are not to be ascribed to any increased elevation of the watry body in one age more than another, but rather to some accidental depression of the earth in some places; though chiefly and most frequently to this depredation of the sea upon a lax dissolvable soil, which it incessantly tears and consumes without resistance. As to the elevation of the sea in some ages above others, which some fancy, it has no foundation in ordinary nature (for the approaches and attraction of comets, if there are such things to be

* The word is *Tywys* and not *Twyn*. It is derived from *tywod* and *gwyn*, i. e. *white sand*; being hillecks of white sand blown together by the wind.

† We have no authority to write this *Dinllow*; for in all our MSS. it is spelled *Dinlle*, as it is commonly pronounced. This *Dinas* is an ancient summer camp on the marsh near the edge of the sea, and was doubtless intended to defend the entrance of the river *Menni*.

granted, are extraordinary, and therefore not to be urged as any proof). I say, it has no foundation in nature; for the sea (excepting its daily and monthly swellings, which yet make no variation in the whole bulk) makes of itself, as far as it extends and continues fluid, one round and globous surface; and what it depredates of the earth in one part, it throws up into another; and therefore, without addition of new matter, which is naturally impossible, this body of water, in the aggregate bulk of its is incapable of augmenting or diminishing its given arch and determined altitude. As to local Deluges, concerning which history is not to be discredited, they may be very well accounted for another way; as proceeding from great unusual rains and land-floods, and other particular causes.

But that of the universal deluge, if it be objected as an instance of such augmentation, is of no force in this particular. For that was divine and miraculous; and as it did not depend upon, so it cannot be accounted for, and explicated from, the known power and operation of any natural principles.

This being settled, I may now conclude that the channel of *Menai*, though at first narrow and fitted only to discharge and carry off the many fresh brooks that fall into it, might in a long continuance of time, by the constant motion of the water wearing and consuming its earthy banks and bottoms, become as broad and as deep as it now is. And undoubtedly where the shores are flat and earthy, soft and yielding, as they are in many places, the sea will daily enlarge its encroachments, and pursue opposition as they give way, till it meets with unpassable resistance. For although the Almighty has assigned to this liquid element its bounds over which ordinarily it shall not pass; yet when these bounds drill and moulder away, it will inevitably break in and lean upon others: its very nature obliging it, as to seek its bounds, so to rest nowhere without them.

Now, it being in my way to explicate some things that will occur in this discourse by that great phenomenon, the deluge, I am obliged before I can build any conclusions upon it, to prove the universality of it; and consequently that it reached not only here, the place I undertake to account for, but equally round the globe; which some would very strenuously deny, contending that a topical one sufficiently answers the ends of that divine judgment. To prove this, I shall only use this one argument, which I hope will clear the point, or at least give strength to what I shall assert in the next section in relation to this island:

It:

It is agreed by all that the earth and water, as they constitute one globe, have one and the same center of gravity; and as a consequent of this, that the great bulk of water, however raised or depressed, will naturally form itself into a spherical, or at least, into a spheroidal superficies; it being a fluid body, and having every where an equal tendency to the common center. Now, I say, if they allow (as some do) a local deluge, they must allow it to be such as did actually over-top and cover all the mountains of that place where that deluge happened; else it contradicts the express words of Moses, and defeats the great decree of drowning all mankind but those in the ark. Now, if it be granted that this local flood did by some cubits overflow the highest mountains of Asia (as the scripture plainly says it did) which are some of the most aspiring mountains in the world; then it follows that the global arch, or circle of that elevated water, kept the same height and distance from its center round the globe; for being a fluid body it naturally flowed to all declivities, and consequently must overflow all the mountains of the earth within that circle; and therefore upon this granted supposition it must be universal, or at least deeply cover these lower regions, which is all I contend for.

SECTION III.

Of the Original Form of this Island, the alterations which the universal Deluge wrought on the face and borders of it, and other accidents and effects of that prodigious mass of Water.

NOW, since it is no less than mathematically evident, that Noah's flood universally overflowed the face of the earth to a height equal to the highest mountains of Asia; and since we have natural principles to afford us evidence, that that overflowing made great changes and alterations on the surface of the globe; it may well become a question, Whether this island was sea or land before that universal cataclysm? To which I answer, That although the surface of it be for the most part flat, and not many perches higher than the ambient sea; and though several are of opinion, that many more elevated regions were formerly under water, and no other than the bottoms of seas; yet, we have strong inducements to affirm, that this was never since the creation under any, save that of the flood. For as, on the one hand, we find no symptoms of such a submerſion, no indication of so long sleeping under

under water, and as a necessary consequence of that, no marine remains, properly such, interpersed in our inland soil; so on the other hand, we find in many places of it some evidences of its being land before the deluge. We find great bulky trees buried in slutch and mud, which in all likelihood the deluge laid along, and found growing on or near the places where we now find them. And if they grew near the places where they are found, as there are many signs they did, then there is no question but it was terra firma before that deluge.

Now it being supposed to be land, and probably an island, before the flood, it is impossible to determine what addition, diminution, and other superficial alterations it sustained under that mighty pressure of waters during the continuance of them; yet something may be said and rationally accounted for in regard to these particulars. And therefore in the explication of them, I shall wave the ungrounded hypotheses of our late theorists in relation to the deluge and the consequences of it, and shall rather chuse to rely on more indubitate certainties; that is, on the divine authority and the visible effects of things, that there was a deluge, and that it was universal. And consequently, in order to set forth the natural circumstances of this island since that epocha, I shall, from the common and most undeniable affections and properties of that mass of waters, submerging and surrounding the terrestrial globe, assume such plain and easy principles as will be very intelligible in themselves, and sufficiently responsible for those phenomena that will fall under the consideration of these premised particulars; which I shall set down generally in a few Theorems explicating the natural efforts of those waters; and particularly in a few Corollaries necessarily resulting from those causes, with respect to the place I account for.

FIRST, therefore, whatever divinity or philosophy may warrant us to affirm of the prodigious rise and increase of these waters two or three miles at least above their present level, we may well conceive that the weight and force of so huge a heap of water, so long pressing upon and soaking the whole face of the earth, which was probably then not so much petrified as now it is, must needs loosen, dissolve, and take asunder the soft, earthy, and clay mould and surface of it to a considerable depth; and with its weight and pressure lay flat and bear down all that grew on that broken and dissevered soil.

All this may be concluded from the natural and ordinary effects of such a mighty weight of water, waving and pressing on the soft and yielding surface of the globe. But besides, it is very probable that

this prodigious mass of water was attended with extraordinary commotions and violences; which indeed is not only suitable to the nature of the thing, but the letter of the text seems also to point out something of that kind to us. Moses (it seems) not contenting himself with a word that might only express the rise and increase of the water, but to shew us that there was somewhat more in the matter, sets it forth with an energy: *Vebamajim gabru meod meod*, Gen. vii. 19. viz. "The waters grew robust and violent more and more." The word *gabar*, which he there makes use of, peculiarly implying a vast gigantic strength; *ceu gigas aliquid profervere*, as some expositors comment upon it; to ravage and destroy all things before it. Now the more strong and violent the rise and increase of these waters were, the more havoc they made, and the more they broke and dilacerated of the soft and yielding surface of the earth.

SECONDLY, The continuance and long stay of this heavy mass of water, so long pressing and penetrating the porous spongy earth, soaked, mollified, and dissolved the superficial crust or cover of it, in the more flat and level places, to a very soft, ouzy, and fluid consistence; and that too, where it was not stony and rocky, to a depth proportionable to the weight and duration of the incumbent fluid. And this soft, quaggy, and much dissolved and loosened surface of the ground, so long steeped and humectated, rendered it very apt and easy to be moved, broken, and furrowed, wherever the motion, weight, and currency of the water drove and pressed it. And we may also conceive, that no small proportions of the finest and most dissevered parts of the loosened earth, being taken up and sustained in the swelling fluid, made it to a considerable height very thick, fæculent, and muddy; and that consequently in that float of things the trees of the lighter sort swam aloft, and the heavier ones either stuck in the quag or trailed in the bottom*.

Hence it is that the earthy mould, falling off from the sides of the more erect and elevated situations, left the more hard and petrified portions thereof, as we now find, to be craggy, precipitous rocks. And when the outer coat or stratum, which before, in all probability, covered those heights, slid down into the adjacent bottoms, a great deal of the more loose and crusty parts of these rocks, being then left naked and unsupported, fell off and tumbled in many places in great splinters and

* Trees of the lighter sort, as fir, willows, and alder, are found amongst the oak in *Mynydd Paris*, near *Trysgwyn*, in this island.

fragments one upon another; as may be seen on the verge and borders of all rocks and rocky precipices. So that from hence it is mechanically evident, that what was soft and earthy on the hills and mountains, by the weight and pressure of this water sliding downwards, stuck in and filled, on the lower grounds, all unevennesses and hollows: and what also on these lower grounds was before uneven and rugged, by having their holes, chaps, and crannies filled up with the descending silt and fæculency, became more plain and level: inasmuch, that what was thereby abraded and washed off from the hills and eminences, was, by the tumbling of that water, strewed and levelled on the plains and bottoms.

Ehræ mons est diductus in æquor. Ovid. Metam. xv. 267.

THIRDLY, in the fall and decrease of these waters, when the higher grounds and hills began to appear, and the Almighty had ordered the outrageous element to fall and couch within its own limits; we may naturally conceive, that as these waters fell lower and lower to the lesser hills, they descended still with greater and greater violence and impetuosity towards their original channel, especially where the grounds were uneven and shelving; carrying along with them their muddy filth and floatings, and making hideous eruptions in their passage, where they were any wise stopped and retarded, until they had lain all they carried along with them in the lowest bottoms, and seated and lodged themselves within their appointed allotments.

Some idea of this we may form in our minds from the great and frequent excavations which extraordinary land-floods effect, when they run headlong over grounds of a loose yielding consistency.

Thus when with haste and precipitancy, these recolling waters rolled and tumbled, through the great gaps and outlets of the earthy surface, to their peculiar channels; it is easy to imagine, how their impetuous force and violence broke and furrowed the universal quag, or dissolved and loosened surface of the earth, into guts and dingles; and that with various windings and turnings, as the soil broke and yielded to the force and violence of those furious eruptions, and as the disposition of the rocky strata of the earth gave way to them: and how they threw up and lodged here and there, as they descended, in the depressed cavities and receptacles, vast proportions of ouze mixed with trees and other rubbish; which afterwards condensed and grew up in such places to be what we call moors, fens, turberies, dales, and meadow-lands.

And besides that quantity of this miry sediment and eluvies, which stuck in the larger bottoms to become dales and meadow-lands, and in the lesser and deeper cavities to become moors and turberies; we may likewise conceive, that vast and mighty heaps of it, overflowing and trailing with this retiring element to its own great receptacle, the ocean, stuck and accumulated there in the great bays and ostiums; where the sea having recovered its wonted motion repelled and hoarded it up: whereby that muddy eluvies having, after some time, spent its moisture, and been consolidated, it became in after ages (as the vast plains of Egypt, a great part of the Netherlands, and some of our marshes of England, &c.) the richest and most fertile soils. For these plains are, in my opinion, with better appearance of reason to be referred to that great and mighty deterration and eluvies of the universal deluge, than, as Mr. Ray, and others would have it, to the floods and scourings of great rivers; though somewhat may be alledged that way of the formation of such flat and level lands as are just in the ostiums, or the places where such rivers discharge themselves into the sea.

These general Propositions being thus far premised, and being in themselves unexceptionable, and but the ordinary and constant results of nature in these circumstances; I shall now attempt to draw such Corollaries from them as will easily and intelligibly account for many phenomena that will occur in the consideration of the original state and appearance of this island, both before and immediately after the universal deluge, or at least when it was inhabited.

Now if the question were put, what was the form of this island, and what figure did it represent at that time? I do confess it to be very hard to determine. But what shape soever it was then of, I have great inducements to affirm it was neither before nor immediately after the flood, of the same form and dimensions as now we find it.

For it is very probable, nay, almost demonstrable, that the sea on the south-west side of this island, before the deluge, came up at many places in little bays and angles very far into the inland part. And to reduce what I said to a particular application, I shall affirm from the foregoing Theorems,

FIRST, That the south-west indented side of this island being a little lower and more depressed in its situation than the opposite one, by that declivity, the deluge at the ebbing must needs bear down and carry with it into those bays and angles on the south-west side, whatever the weight and pressure of the waters had crated and broken off from
the

the loosened surface; and that in the trailing and rowling down of the dreggy sediments of the retiring fluid, some proportions of that eluvies stuck here and there, both in the more extended depressions, which formed our flats and meadow-lands, and in the deeper cavities, which became our moors and turberies.

SECONDLY, in this recession of the recoiling waters, the surface of the island being somewhat flat and level, though a little shelving to the south-west side, we may imagine that great proportions of that water were stopped, pent up, and as it were, land-locked, in many places; till the force, weight, and overflowings of it tore and opened it a vent and passage through the soaked and softened ground from one bottom to another; and those vents and irruptions made our narrow gullets, or *nentydd*; of which that at *Llangefni* is a remarkable instance; where a great foss or gullet of considerable length and depth is broke through a large ridge of land, to give vent and passage to a large extended bottom which lies behind it, and which otherwise had been all to this day under water; in which place it is observable, how the impetuous element, after some windings as the ground gave, at last broke out its passage through a heap of rocks, which, perhaps, from that perceived effect, was, and is, to this day, called *Careg y forwyllt*, or the eruption rock. And I dare appeal to any man's observation, if ever he has seen any large extended bottoms without either a natural opening*, or a forced breach and passage, made by this rapid element, to discharge and carry off what collections of water may be otherwise conceived to swell and stagnate in those bottoms; and to attribute these breaks and excavations to the constant drilling of brooks and gutters, will not be so much as supposed by any that shall diligently observe the position and circumstances of those places.

THIRDLY, that the bent and sliding of the eluvies of the deluge on the face of this island was to the south-west side of it, is evident; first, from the hills, rocks, and precipices of the north-east side, which are considerably higher and more elevated from the sea than any on the opposite side; and, secondly, from the constant course and running of the greatest and longest of our brooks† from the north-east to the south-west of the island; the slope and declivity of the ground directing, as it does these brooks now, so that eluvies then, to fix its repose and settle-

* Are not all lakes formed in bottoms by the want of such openings?

† The rivers *Brain*, *Alaw*, *Kaint*, &c.

ment on the south-west borders of it; yet some proportions of the eluvies slanted also to the north-east side, where some little descents favoured its motion.

FOURTHLY, with regard to such parts of this eluvies as stuck not here and there in holes and cavities producing our moors and turberies, or in the large and extended bottoms and depressions becoming our flats and meadow-lands, but trailed and followed the receding waters to the shores of the sea; we may imagine that that restless element, having then recovered its wonted position and motion, soon repelled and threw back that earthy silt and mixture, the spoils of the higher grounds, and therewith filled up those bays and inlets of the western side of the island, forming there those moors and marshes which we now find at *Newborough, Malltraeth, Aberffraw, Trewin**, and in other lesser angles of that cloven indented side.

FIFTHLY, in this eluvies and miry floatings of the deluge, thus carried down to the sea, and thrown up again into those bays and inlets, we may suppose two sorts of substances that had their different place and position in that settling mass:

First, the earthy parts, by their weight and more close adhesion in that accumulated mixture, statically subsided and kept to the bottom, and made, next the sea, a more loose and quaggy†, and to the landward, a more firm and compact, body of sand. The sea-water at every flood, cribrating through that seaward portion of it, which was probably very loose and pervious, repelled and kept back the more slimy and ouzy part of the mixture; which being so separated and driven back, after some settling, conglutinated and hardened there into a firm sandy clay, such as we generally find the under soil of our marshes to consist of.

Secondly, the more light and voluble portions of this eluvies, being a medley of all floating substances, as grass, roots, leaves, trees, &c. possessing the upper part of the aggregate mass, were, by the sea's agitation, driven yet furthest off to the landward, and there settling, grew into a turfish matter, or black spongy peat; such as is generally found behind our sandy marshes in this and other countries.

SIXTHLY, this last mentioned scurfy floating part of the eluvies, stuck over uppermost in all the places where it fixed and settled; unless it happened in some places to be exposed to, and covered with, drifts of

* It should be written *Tywyn Tre Owain*, it being the township's name.

† *Mall-traeth*.

sand hurried by storms and winds; which is the reason that peat and turf are not seldom dug up in some sands and marshes under a layer of sand: and sometimes in inland turberies they find a layer of marle, clay, or gravel, spread over that peaty fibrous matter; which seems to have happened either from some after-eruptions of the pent and stagnated fluid, bursting and overflowing it with a new sediment; or it may have come to pass from ordinary floods washing and carrying down the offals of the higher grounds, and strewing them upon these already formed and grown turberies: and hence those streaks of clay, marle, gravel, and the like, that are usually found in peat and turf, or the layers of that stuff overspreading and lying upon them, are easily accounted for.

SEVENTHLY, in this peaty turfish matter we frequently, and almost every where, find trees of all sizes buried and lying along in the midst of it; and sometimes trees of another species than are usually growing near the places they are found. These must be lodged there by the inundation of the universal flood: for if they had been there cut down, or fallen of themselves, thereby forming the peat and turfish matter that now grows over them, as some would seem to object, they must have been all found lying on the very ground and lowest bottoms of those peats, and not dispersed throughout the substance of that mass: whereas they are found to lie in deep turberies several yards above the bottom, some with their roots uppermost, and others in other positions, and that too on our highest mountains*; which surely nothing but an universal deluge could effect, leaving them with the recoiling waters one above another, according to their specific gravities, dispersed and buried in that slush and mud which stuck in these cavities, and in after-ages, constituted and formed those peats and turberies wherein they are found.

This is what I find most consonant to the works of nature, with regard to all flats and level grounds, and consequently to the original formation of those tracts of land or marshes, that now fill up those arms and branches of the sea, which on the south-west side of this island, I suppose to have at first run up a considerable way into the land, and are now firm ground, making that side of the island more straight and uniform than originally it seems to have been.

Now to prove what I affirmed, that the sea did really come up at first in those bays and inlets, which are now firm land and turberies, to the

* Particularly on *Mynydd Paris* near *Tryglswyn*.

very edge and borders of the rising grounds, on each side and at the ends of them, I shall offer these instances :

FIRST, the under-ground and lowermost bottoms of those mentioned sandy marshes, that is, the uppermost coat of the true solid earthy mould or soil under those plains ; and that in some places very far from the sea, is found to be lower than the full sea level ; and consequently, before the sand and slutch crowded in and filled the places, the sea must naturally overflow and cover it, as I have before demonstrated.

SECONDLY, at *Mall-traeth* marsh, about the middle place between the sea and the farthest inland points of it, and very near the land, they find, by digging for coals, a perfect sea-shore with all its symptoms, as pebbles, shells, &c. under five or six yards of pure sand, as I have been credibly informed by an intelligent person concerned in those coal-works ; and yet the surface there is very little above the level of the sea, as appears by its frequent flowing up to that place ; and if the channel was originally so deep there, so near the shore of it, any one may proportionably conjecture, not only how deep the whole bay was, but also how far the sea flowed up to the adjacent rising grounds towards *Keint* and *Kefenny* ; two brooks discharging themselves into that marsh.

THIRDLY, at *Towyn Ceinwen* * near *Aber-Menai*, at a place called now *Dwyran*, the very utmost point to the landward of that bay, just where the river *Breint* goes into the marsh ; I have found that place in some ancient records called *Aber-Breint*, as if sometime the river made its entrance into the sea, which is now a mile from it, at that place ; which though it might be an argument rather that that bay was landed many ages after the deluge, because sometime seen and then called an *Aber* ; yet it is a sufficient evidence to shew that once it was sea to that very place.

Further, it is to be confessed, that these mentioned clefts and inter-spaces on the south-west side of this island, being thus filled with the silt and fæces of the deluge, had also in after-ages considerable additions of pure sand thrown up by the sea, and blown and scattered by the winds, gradually strewing and covering the whole surface of them : for it is demonstrably true, that the sea, by its incessant eating and wasting away the earthy yielding shores it beats upon, quickly converts what it ravishes away from those banks into sand and slutch ; which it throws up again and lodges in such nooks and angles as are most exposed to its

* It should be *Towyn Ceinwen*.

rage and commotion; and likewise that such portions of those sands, so discharged and thrown up on the shore, as are light and voluble, the winds take away, when they are dry, in vast drifts and showers, blow and disperse them over the whole plains, thereby not only augmenting the extension of those flats and levels, but also raising the surface of them, especially near the sea; where generally those plains seem more advanced and higher than towards the inland parts of them.

The greatest accumulation and intrenchment of these volatile sands on the borders of this island, was about the south angle of it near *Aber-Menai*; at which place the sea threw up, and the winds, frequently blowing from that quarter, drove, vast showers of these flying sands; not only enlarging the sandy plains, but covering also with the drifts of them a great neck of land, called *Llanddwyn*, all over.

These prodigious heaps of sand so thrown up, which have totally ruined the habitation of that place, I conceive the sea, in the manner I mentioned, took off from the shores of *Caernarvonshire*; from *Dinas Dinllo** all along to the farthest point of *Llyn*; whence, undoubtedly, great quantities of land, especially from *Caer-Anrhwad* to the *Riole*, were taken away by the sea. And the winds, as I said, frequently blowing from that coast, forced the tumultuous waves to discharge and unburthen themselves of those spoils upon that part of this island that was directly opposite to those vastations of the sea on the other shore, which was this *Llanddwyn*; though some proportions of those sands were in like manner also discharged and dispersed on the other plains of *Aberfraw* and *Trewin*†. Neither is it unreasonable to imagine, that a great part of *Llyn* likewise, towards the middle and the furthest end of it, being generally pure sand under the upper soil or stratum, was sometime covered with such drifts of sand from the sea on the southern side of it. For we have some memorials of a vast tract of flat land there, called *Cantref Waelod*‡, all consumed and eaten up by the incessant beating of the sea upon it. And, in all probability, the sand of it being carried by the waves on the shore, and thence dispersed by storms and wind over the face of that country, made it for some while a desolate region, as now our *Llanddwyn* is, till that encroaching stock of sand was exhausted, and the surface of the land, after long settling, by the new growth of vegetables, by plowing and manuring, and by the

* *Dinas Dinlle.* † *Tre Owain.*

‡ *Cantref-Waelod*, i. e. a bottom or low land, containing formerly a hundred *Trefi* or mansions, now all swallowed up by the sea.

operation of the sun, and air, and rains upon it, was rendered habitable; and came at length, by degrees, to be converted to a good arable soil and plentiful pasturage; as now for many ages it has been known to be.

The two other sides of this island (for it is something triangular) have, it seems, undergone little or no alterations, either in addition or diminution, to this day. The north and north-east side of it, being, for the greatest part, precipitous and rocky, were liable to the least alteration.

And the south-east verge and border of it, since the river *Menai* had made out its passage in an uninterrupted channel from one end to another, is much the same as originally it may be presumed to have been; only the ground from *Beaumarès* to *Penmon*, being a deep earthy soil, has suffered some diminution; especially the place where *Beaumarès* stands. But what the sea, by washing and undermining the marly soils of that shore, ravishes and sweeps away, it stores up and accumulates on the sandy shelves on the other side.

As to the inland part of the island, this method of surveying effects by their known and certain causes only warrants me to say, that as the great weight of those waters of the universal deluge levelled a great deal of the uneven and rugged face of it, leaving the rocks bare and naked, and filling all the chinks, pits, and hollows of it with the earth that formerly clad and covered those rocks; so also the great pregnancy and fertility, which the soil had then acquired from the remaining silts and sliminess of the receding water, quickly invigorated the face of the land to germinate and put forth fresh and lovely growths of trees, shrubs, and vegetables of all sorts, whose seeds lay dispersed and covered in the blended soil; it being in these climates a little after autumn, by the best accounts, when the flood began. And to confirm that the more, it is not unusual to take up nuts * from the bottoms of turf-pits, with all the signs of perfect ripeness upon them; which is a great and visible argument of Providence; which as it secured the race of animals in an artificial ark, so it wisely contrived to preserve a seminary, a new succession of all the kinds and species of vegetables, to refit and furnish the earth in the natural ruins of that stupendous catastrophe.

* Nuts are taken up from the bottom of *Dulas* sands, and moist boggy grounds.

SECTION IV.

Of the first Inhabitants of this Island: When, how, and by whom it was first planted, and why called Mōn, or Mona.

ANTIQUITY recordeth, and the consent of nations celebrateth, the sons of Japhet to have been the first planters of Europe. Our commonly received stories make our Britain to be peopled by these men, very soon after the flood. But it is not easy to imagine, how so large and remote a territory should become thoroughly planted and peopled in so short a time.

For though eight persons did then multiply, in a small time, to an incredible number; yet, considering the great distance of this place from the middle point or center of mankind's progression, viz. Armenia or Caucasus, and the tedious difficulties those people met with in extending their colonies through huge deserts and over dreadful rocks and mountains; and having two seas to pass over, if they did not march about the Euxine and the Palus Mæotis, together with their continual toil of hewing down the woods and hunting of beasts, all the land before them being one great continued waste or wilderness; considering these things, I say, all which they must have done, except passing round the Euxine, we cannot but conclude that they must have consumed a long space of time before they could fix and establish themselves here a distinct settled nation.

But probable it is*, and we have nothing but probabilities and conjectures to guide us in things of that remoteness and obscurity, I say, probable it is, that when those people, who moved to the westward, had extended their colonies to the Belgic or Gallic shores, and had thence taken a view of the great *Albion* or *isle of Britain*, they soon wasted over; and being entered into, and possessed of that rich and spacious land, their multiplied families proceeded on in the like manner, hewing and hunting (the work of that time) until they came to the end or utmost corner of the land, which, on the western side of it, was this island I am accounting for. When these prime colonizers came into it, and found it the hindmost island, or the utmost corner of the land that way, we may well presume that they might then properly call it, *γ Fōn*

* What Dr. Pezron relates from history concerns the Titan conquests of these countries, and not the first planting of them

Ynys, that is, "the hindermost or furthestmost island," or *y Fôn Wlad*, viz. "the lowermost country:" *Bôn* being in the British structure the radical of *Môn*, and signifying in the ancient British, as also in the Irish, the same as *Caudex*, or *Pars inferior*, does in the Latin tongue. Neither is it unlikely that the Latin *Finis* (labial sounds being promiscuously pronounced in ancient times) might be owing to the same derivation a little varied; that is, what we call *Vôn* or *Fôn*; the Latins called *Fîn* or *Finis*; as *Finis-Ter*, the utmost cape or point in Spain; the same with *Tîr-Môn** in signification.

That the relative site and position of this island gave it first that name, will appear the more probable, in that the ancient *Celts* or *Britons* frequently denominated themselves (or were by others denominated) from the situation of their territories, and such other comparative respects. For what were the † *Cattiuchlani* and *Dobuni*, so named in Roman authors, but the upper and lower inhabitants of that part of Britain where they resided? What were the *Ordovices* and *Silures*, but *gwyr ar Ddyvi* and *Iffelwyr*, viz. the men inhabiting above *Dyvi*, and the men below it, or towards the sea; which is still in our dialect reckoned lowest or lowermost?

And we have this farther to observe, that as *Kyn* or *Cyn*, in the ancient British tongue (and is still retained in the Irish) betokens *head* properly; as ‡ *Cynwry* and *Cynvelyn*, *head-river* and *yellow-head*; and improperly or metaphorically, *first* or *foremost*; as *Cyntaw*, *first*; *Cyn*, *before*, &c. So in the same manner is *Bôn* properly taken in that language for *tail*, *stump*, *butt-end*; but improperly for *last* or *lowermost*. And we may also take notice, that those regions or countries in this isle of Britain, which border on, and lie next to, the continent-land (which countries were probably first inhabited, as having the shortest cut to come into them from the main-continent) do seem to have anciently retained the sound *Kyn*, in the composition of their names, as betokening *first* or *foremost*, though distinguished by their respective sites and positions. Thus we have *Kyn* or *Cynta*§, by the Romans called *Cantium*, by

* *Tîr-Môn*, i. e. *Ultima Terra*, by the ancient poets called *Ultima Thule*, which Statius takes to be a British Isle.

† *Catuvclani* and *Dynioid* ‡ *Tal Kyn*, Forehead.

§ From { *Cynta*,
{ *Uchcynia*, } come. { *Cynioid*,
{ *Obricynia*, } { *Uchcynioid*, } i. e. the first inhabitants.

Expressed by the Romans, { *Cantii*,
{ *Ihoni* or *Iceni*,
{ *Brigantes*.

by us *Kent*. A little sideways of that, we have *Ucb-Kyn*, i. e. *Icenorum Regio* by the Romans, now *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. And beyond that, down towards the north, is *Obri-Cyn*, or *Obrigantum*; *Brigantium Regio* by the Romans. And these, with submission, I take to have been the *first*, the *upper*, and *farther Kents*, or lands which were first arrived unto and inhabited; they all lying along opposite to the Gallic and Belgic shores.

And as these countries, being the most eastern parts of the isle of Britain and next to the main continent, were originally, as it seems to me, called by names importing *first* or *foremost*; so it may seem very agreeable, from the then manner of imposing names, and the allowable rudeness of expression at that time, to call this *lowest*, *utmost*, and one of the most *western* provinces of the Britons, in respect of those first inhabited countries, *y Fân-Wlâd*, or *Gwyr ym Môn y wlâd*. On which account, I think, that not only this isle of *Mona* was so called in respect of its site and position, but, for more confirmation of this conjecture, one may trace the sound *Môn* in many other corners of this and other countries, where we may presume the ancient Celtæ to have arrived; as if the first inhabitants of these western regions called those farthest points or ends of land, which put a stop to their progression, *Mên* or *Bên*. Thus we find *Cornwal* called by the Romans *Danmonium*†; and the furthest point of it is, to this day, called *Pen-von-lâz*, or *wlâd*. The isle of *Mân*, *Moneda*. And in *Ireland*, the farthest part of it to the west is called *Momonía* or *Mown*. So likewise is one of the *Orkneys* (the farthest isles of Scotland) called *Pomonai*. Nay, three of the largest rivers in the farthest end of Spain, and, indeed, of all the western world, seem to have in their name, at this day, some resemblance of a *Celtish* origin. Two of them have apparently this sound, viz. *Lisbon* and *Monda*; and the third, to shew its

I well know that the last of these, i. e., the *Brigantes*, have an historical account and derivation, passable enough, in good writers; neither do I oppose it: but this observation naturally occurring, I could not but lay hold on it, and, as such, offer it to the reader; yet considering that the names of places, and consequently of people denominated from them, often continue, from the first imposing of them through many generations among the same people, and in the same language, how far and wide soever those people may have spread their colonies, it is not unreasonable to ascribe this, in concert with the other two, to that origin, the distinction arising from the relation the two last have to *Kent*, or *Cyts*, i. e. the first and greatest landing-place of the whole island.

† Some read it *Danmonium*, from the British *Dynau*, which is Devonshire. But the *pen lâz* or *wlâd*, at the land's end, makes it probable that *Danmonium* is the true word for Cornwall, and *Danmonium* for Devonshire or *Dynau*; both these names occurring in the Roman geography. The Cornish pronounce and write *d* as a *n*. *Pen-von-lâz* with them, is *Pen-von-lâd* with us.

extraction

extraction, is called *Doura*, from the Celtish *Dwr*; the Celtiberians having anciently inhabited that part of Spain.

Now these ancient names, agreeable to the propriety of things, being thus taken and settled; they open a way not only to account for the nomination of this isle of *Mona*, but may also serve to confirm what is generally conceived to be most coherent and natural in this particular, viz. that islands were first arrived into and inhabited in those parts of them which border nearest to other adjacent islands or continents. This is what I take to be sufficient in order to account for this island's ancient name *Mona*, and its present, *Môn*. For if it deserves to be granted that *Cantium*, *Brigantium*, and *Icenorum Regia*, may have relation to the Celtic or ancient British word *Kyn*, as it betokens *first* or *foremost*; it is, I think, but fair to conclude, that the *furthest* and *utmost* places of the land should be called by names importing *Bân* and *Môn*; for being correlatives they must mutually plead for and prove each other.

SECTION V.

Of the first planting of this Island; the manner of peopling it, and the appropriating the divided parts of it to particular properties and possessions.

THESE, the said progeny of Japhet, having once passed over the Gallic and Belgic streights, and in great numbers colonized our fruitful *Albion* in the eastern and southern parts of it; it is, I think, natural to suppose, that, as the numbers of these men multiplied and increased, the necessity of enlarging their bounds, and a vagrant curiosity, would strongly stimulate and push them on to make farther search and enquiry, and to find out the utmost end and borders of this rich and spacious land.

The huge stupendous mountains, intermixed with dreadful amazing dens on the western side, now *Wales*, discouraged not these bold adventurers from accomplishing that discovery. The restless unbounded desires of those who attempted westerly to find an end or utmost, and to possess new acquiesces, it is natural to imagine, carried them through all difficulties and dangers, till at last they passed over that great chain or ridge of mountains* which crosses that angle of land from sea to sea;

* The *Kyrtl*.

and from which, by the interposition of a small arm of the sea, called by them perhaps *Mainau**, or narrow water, now *Menai*, this island is separated.

This great ledge of mountains, their heights and summits being capped with snow for the most part of the year, they might then, or soon after, call *Eiryri* in their language; as it is said that others called those between France and Italy, *Albos* or *Alpes*; as being the usual repositories of that meteor.

From the lofty sides of these hills, taking a wide and boundless view of the western seas there exposed before them, they could soon descry a narrow fret or channel, severing and dividing them from another region, which seemed to them more flat and level, but overspread with tall and stately wood; and concluding it, in all probability, a more rich and fruitful soil than that they stood on, that consideration, together with the grateful prospect it yielded them, will be easily confessed very prevailing and natural to give them strong inducements and invitation to descend and seek out the narrowest passage and shortest cut to that severed and divided land.

This shortest and narrowest passage appeared to them about the middle of that interposing channel; where an arm of small rocks on the island's side elbowing out, makes it narrower in that place than in any other. This being observed, these men, it is most probable, repaired thither, and in their wicker-cornachs, or other expedients of that time, waded over to take their premier possession of this *Von-wlad*, or utmost land, on which by their first footing was sealed unto them the best claim, right, and title.

Now, such of these men as came not at first over, but repaired and followed after, we may very well conceive, sought and enquired for the *port* or passage which those before them had gone over, shall I venture to add? by the name of *Portb-aeth-bwy*. They are three very ancient original words; and it is certain the place is so called to this day, i. e. "the passage which some before had passed over."

I will not say, that *Portus Itius*, or *Iccius*, near Calais in Normandy, was anciently called so on the like account, that is, from the first coming over of people into Britain at that place; yet it is manifest that some such name as this it had in the Gaulish or British language; perhaps *Portb-citha*, if *Itius* be the word, viz. "the utmost passage."

* *Main-aw.*

For it is certain that Cæsar, who first mentions it by that name, only latinized the ancient Gaulish or British names he found among us; and leaves us to seek their etymons, not in the Roman, but in our own language.

But that this place, here mentioned, was called *Partl-actb-bwy*, from some most noted and remarkable entrance into the island, and what more remarkable than that of the first planters? I think is not improbable. For it is certain, that the region or part of the island adjoining it has been very anciently called *Tyn-daeth-bwy*, that is, "the part or territory they came into;" *Tyn* or *Tain** sometime so signifying: both names referring to some famed passage in the different terms of *a quo* & *ad quem*, as any one that is conversant in the Welsh structure will readily grant. And to deduce it from *Aitbwy*, as a proper or an appellative name, is to run counter to the genius of the language; for then the region or land adjoining would have been called *Tyn-Aitbwy*, which it never was. But, to let that pass,

These prime invaders having got on land, it is easy to imagine that their first attempt was to top the little neighbouring hills. And when from those rising grounds they beheld the land before them as one continued grove, on every side dark and dismal, they could not chuse, supposing it an island, but call it *Ynys Dwyll*, the *Shady Island*. This British name it had of old †: and might give hints to the *Ὀδὴ* of the Greeks, and the *Tbule* of the Romans, which yet might well enough be this isle of *Mona*, ultima *Tbule*, i. e. *X Fân Dwyll*; taking *Bôn* or *Fôn* for *furthest*, and *Tboule* or *Tbule* ‡ for *Tawyll*; notwithstanding later geographers mistook another for it, when further islands than it were discovered.

Now, supposing these men to have planted themselves on the tops of these little hills and rising grounds, it is next to be imagined, that a cautious regard and consideration of their own welfare and safety, obliged them to *dynessu*, to *approach*, and keep close together on the brows and summits of those hilly grounds; where they built little holds and fences, of stone and other materials that were found readiest at hand, to secure

* From *Tany* spreading, so *Tain*, *Tania*, a region, as *Bri-tania*, *Aqui-tania*, *Mauri-tania*, and *Leis-tania*.

† The ancient poets call it *Ynys Dwyll*, not *Dwyll*.

‡ Statius took *Tbule* to be a British isle, as appears by this passage of his, viz.

*Cæculus haud aliter cum dimicat incola Tbule,
Agmina falcifero circumvenit æqa Covino.*

and accommodate themselves during their stay there. For it was perhaps dangerous to descend in haste to the neighbouring vallies, which were then, as in all other uninhabited countries, the range of wild and ravenous beasts. This the antient names of some places bordering on those hillocks seem to attest, as * *Cors y Wiber*, † *Cors y Bleiddiau*, ‡ *Bod-lew*, || *Llâs-lew*, &c. And these primary holds and fences on those commanding grounds, from their *dinesu*, (from men's associating and bandying together) they might properly call *Dines* or *Dinas*; as the Latins called *Civitas à coeundo* for the like reason. And very many of such places, and two or three in this island §, are called *Dinas* to this day.

Thus I presume the first planters almost in every country sought, for some while after their first arrival, (and it is recorded by authors of great antiquity that they did so) such topping grounds and eminences. And where they found such, with conveniency of stones and other materials, they built them little holds or fences to dwell in; feeding themselves for the while upon slaughtered wild beasts, roots and wild fruits, and what else they could cater from the adjacent bottoms.

And I have oft observed on such grounds in many places of this island, and in other countries, clusters of little round and oval foundations, whose very irregularities speak their antiquity; and particularly on the very hills I now mention near *Portbarbury* there is prodigious plenty of them: two places, seeming the most principal and eminent, retain, as I said, the name of *Dinas* to this day. And this last particular, I must confess, is an argument to me sufficiently demonstrative, that the first inhabitants of this island not only landed near these hills, but also dwelt and associated themselves upon them for some considerable time---at least while they were clearing and unwooding the adjacent borders. For indeed, I think it may be easily determined, that nothing but the want of better places could have induced any people

* *Cors y Wiber*, i. e. The Serpents Den. † *Cors y Bleiddiau*, i. e. The Wolves Den. ‡ *Bod-lew*, i. e. The Lions Den. || *Llâs-lew*, i. e. The Place where a Lion was killed, which the word *Llâs* or *Llâdd* imports. If it be objected that lions did not breed in these countries, I answer, that it does not at all follow, because they breed not at this time here that they did not then; for nothing hindered that prince of beasts from coming and propagating here as well as in other countries, as we find (by their bones) that elephants once did. But as to the lions, their mischievous voracity and destructiveness to men and beasts engaged the first people to make a total destruction of them in these countries where fewer of them were, which could not be done in other parts of the world, where vast wildernesses and uninhabited desarts continued their race, and made it impracticable utterly to destroy them.

§ There are four; viz. 1. *Dinas* near *Trench bychan*. 2. *Pen y Dinas*. 3. *Dinas* near *Portbarbury*. 4. *Dinas* near *Bodowen*.

to chuse their living on such barren, bleak, unfertile grounds. And the very make and figure and other circumstances of these rude mishapen holds (as much as may be gathered from what now appears of them) seem to indicate, that they were the retreating places of those first people, when they began the work of clearing and opening the country: and their sorry unfortified slightness seems also to shew they were rather fences against beasts than men.

From these holds and rocky fences we may also very reasonably imagine, that when the men had once opened and cleared the neighbouring borders, and had slaughtered and tamed multitudes of their wild inhabitants, they descended in distinct tribes and families—*Tylwythbau*—to assume their dividends;—first to bound, then to improve and cultivate them: which sort of bounds or *Terfynau*, running great lengths and compasses, are in many places to this day visible.

And having sent abroad the more strong and able of them to cut down and destroy the wood, and to clear the country, it is probable these men, so sent and employed, pitched upon and chose up and down the openest air and clearest grounds; which were the more moist and shrubby lands, now our heaths and * *Rhofydd*. For these, on account of several advantages, were the best places for them to live and abide upon while they were clearing and reducing the drier and better grounds for their future use and service.

On these shrubby heaths or *Rhofydd* † then, as they proceeded on with their axes and mattocks in felling down the cumbersome crop, which the earth then every where bore, they pitched their little tents and cabbins, raising thereon here and there little oval banks of earth, timbering them with boughs of trees it is likely, and covering them with sods and parings of that tough soil, reeds or the like, to lodge them at nights and to safe-guard their necessaries, while they continued their work of clearing the ground, and fitting it for a more orderly and regular habitation. The most ancient memoirs of Ireland give the like account (and it is indeed but what was natural enough) of the first work of some of the prime rulers of that country, when they were employed in destroying the wood and reducing the wildernesses thereof into habitable plains; which plains, to shew the agreement of their primitive language with the British, they called *Moy's*, or *Meck's*, as we do the like, *Maes*, to this day.

* *Rbŷs*, *Rus* with the Latins, i. e. Habitable lands.
Rbos Dre Hausa, *Rbos y Nigir*, &c.

† As *Rbos Lligwy*, y *Rbos fawr*.

This

This manner of living in tents and cabbins is warranted by divine and human records to have been the ancientest practice of mankind in extending their colonies; very necessity obliging those people then, as custom does some at this day, to chuse and make use of such moveable abodes; which it is probable these first people here persevered in until, and no longer than, their labour and industry had provided them a more agreeable settled habitation.

That what I say now may not appear to be a vain groundless surmise, though the custom of other nations, and the then necessity of the thing may be some evidence of it—there are to this day visible upon our heaths and *Rhosydd* the marks and footsteps of those booths and cabbins, in the oval and circular trenches, which are seen in great plenty dispersed here and there on such grounds. No one can well deny them to have been little dwellings and houses; and their being only on those barren heathy grounds is some argument that they were so used before the better grounds were reduced and cultivated. And that such marks and tokens of them, as we find, might well remain undefaced on such grounds from that time to this day, is not, I think, difficult to be imagined; because these barren heathy grounds, on which these little trenches are, have generally their glebe or upper mould and surface of a clay, firm, unwastable texture, not to be worn and flatted with rains and weather; and are also generally so barren and despicable, that the plough and spade cannot be suspected to have had ever any thing to do with them.

It is true, they are called *Cyttie'r Gwyddelod*, viz. the Irish mens cottages. But that must be a vulgar error, if by *Gwyddelod* be meant the inhabitants of Ireland, who never inhabited this island so as to leave any remains of their creats and cottages behind them. For those Irish that are said to rob and pillage this island seldom staid long in it; and if they had, they cannot well be supposed to leave those marks behind them; for they found here good houses to lodge themselves in for the time they staid, and were in no need of using that Irish custom, where they could not fail of being better provided. But if by *Gwyddelod* be meant the Aborigines---the first inhabitants---as it is not unlikely it may; for the two words that make up that name are purely British, viz. * *Gwydd* and *Hôl*, i. e. *Wood-Rangers*, which was perhaps the common

* *Gwydd belod*, *Sylvestris Hominis*.] The propriety of that British appellation is so very agreeable, that if a colony of Britons were at this time in some parts of America, the original natives of the place, who live there by ranging and hunting in the woods, could be called by no fitter

common appellative of the Aborigines, lost with us, and retained only by the Irish; then the objection falls to the ground; and the instance confirms the conjecture, that they are the remains of the first planters' habitations, while they were destroying the woods and cultivating the country.

Now on the whole matter—It being thus supposed that these original planters, after they had descended in their tribes and *Llwythau* from their upland holds, and dispersed themselves over the country, led a moveable life in their rural huts and cabbins, while they continued improving and bounding their particular allotments; this, I say, being supposed, it is I think but very reasonable to imagine, that when these people had accomplished their works and effected their improvements, they no longer continued moveable and vagrant, but began to fix and establish their dwellings in the most chosen and convenient place of the colony; and each dwelling being then become a standing and permanent building, it was very proper to call it *Bôd*, that is, a fixed and settled being, or way of living; as this very ancient word *Bôd* ever imports—and for distinction-sake among themselves, with the addition perhaps of the founder's name, as *Bôd-Eon*, *Bôd-Ewryd*, *Bôd-Edern*, names very ancient and barbarous—or of some accident, as *Bôd-Cylched*, *Bôd-Yeben*, *Bôd-Filog*, &c.

These *Bôds* were, it seems, the chiefest and principal mansions of every particular colony. But as the colonies increased and multiplied into lesser and subdivided families, they were, it is natural to think, obliged to *Tir-rhannu*—to assign to each of those subdivisions their peculiar lots and portions of land to manure and husband. And the rulers and principal assigners in each colony, they might properly enough call, from that act of sharing and apportioning of lands, * *Tir-rhannwyr*. i. e. *Land-sharers*. And shall I venture to deduce the *τύραννοι* of the Greeks, and *Tyranni* of the Latins from this origin? Greece and Italy being countries these people came into before they arrived here, the word naturally leans to this etymology.

Now these smaller portions or parcels of land, assigned and cantoned out in this manner to each lesser household in the *Bôd* or colony, might

name than *Gwydd bolod*, i. e. *Wood-bunters*, by them; *Gwydd* being the ancient British name for *Wood*, as *Hela* is for *Hunting*, and *od* being the plural termination of many British words, especially of living things, as *Catbod*, *Llewad*, *Llwynogod*, &c. it is therefore the most natural etymology of the name that I can imagine, laying aside the Gaithelic story, which who will may believe.

* Hence *Teyrn* and *Teyrnau*, *Mychedeyrn*, i. e. kings and monarchs.

very

very properly, from the particularity of such assignments, be called *Tir-es*, or *Tref*, that is, "Such a one's land;" for we find the same sort of assignments among the ancient Saxons called *Hamlets*, (from *Ham*, signifying in the ancient Saxon language, *Dwelling* and *Let*, *setting forth* or *assigning*) importing the very same thing; as several different nations in many of their fundamental constitutions do often agree.

So also, when these inferior owners of such allotted portions of land, so assigned to them by their heads and chiefs, had enclosed a spot of it for their own defence and commodity of dwelling; that small enclosure, whether of wood or stone, might be called *Caer*, from the Celtic or old British word *Cau*; and that perhaps from the Hebrew word *Gaiaph*, to *fence* and *enclose*—which, with submission, I rather take to be its true etymon than *Kir* or *Kiriab*, a *Wall* or *City*. Tho' afterwards, I confess, in some ages following, when towns and cities were built, the word *Caer* with us, and *Kiriab* with them, came to be transferred, and generally attributed and applied to those greater and stronger holds and defences; yet with us some of those smaller entrenchments retained the name of *Caer* and keep it to this day, with the usual addition of the founder's name; as *Caer-Elen*, *Caer-Eneon*; or of some accident, as *Caer-dbu*, *Caer-nen*.

And as the word *Caer*, in this primary original denomination, related to *Tir-es*, viz. "Such a one's land;" so I suppose it came to be called *Caer-tir-es*, or *Cartref*, that is, "Such a one's home;" or the fort, hold, or the inclosed dwelling-house on such a land. But now, since good laws and constitutions are become the defensible enclosures of every man's house, the word *Cartref* or home has been promiscuously used and applied to every particular habitation or dwelling.

And for the same reason, it seems, the ancient inhabitants of Ireland, when they enclosed about their principal seats and mansions (to shew another congruity of language as well as of practice with us) called such places *Mbuir* or *Mur*, as we did *Caer*. For both *Mur* and *Caer*, in the British tongue, are words equally signifying an enclosed place. Thus the city of Tara in that kingdom was first called *Thea Mbuir* or *Mur*, i. e. the city of *Tra*, one of their queens. And when their druids had made it their chief seat and residence, by erecting therein a great school or college of learning, *anno* 927, before the birth

of

of Christ, as their * memoirs have it,—they then began to call it *Mur-Ollavan*, i. e. *The City of the Learned*. And *Caer-Edris* with us imports the very same thing; *Edris*, a name attributed to *Enoch* for his great knowledge in the sciences of ancient times, being a derivative of the original word דַּרַשׁ *Darash*, *Investigavit*, *perquisivit*, *studuit*, Arabicè, *doctus*, *eruditus*: In which respect, our *Caer-Edris* may equally with their *Mur-Ollavan*, and with as good propriety, be called *The City of the Learned*; and perhaps was so, and more anciently too, if our druids, near whose principal town it was seated, had been so just as to transmit to us an account of it. This *Edris* or *Idris*, a *Syro-Phœnician* word, might very probably (name and thing) be from those countries, together with some of the earliest communications of knowledge, brought and conveyed to us—of which name we find remains yet, as *Bod-Edris*, *Cader-Edris*, &c. in other places among us. Also their *Dun-Ollavan*, or *Dun-Lavan* was probably another college, where it is observable, that our *Dun* or *Dinas*, another ancient word in the British tongue for *City*, is taken by them into the composition. I mention this here to shew the original agreement between the ancient Irish and the Britons in custom and language, greatly betokening their being at first one and the same people, that is, the one a colony of the other.

* The Irish memoirs are undoubtedly in many things of good repute and credit, supported by the many weighty reasons given in defence of them. That the Irish people had early learning among them, such at least as related to family-histories, and the like, and that they made the best use of it, is not to be questioned. Their druids, having less power and authority among the people, became thereby, as more tractable, so more obliging, and kinder to posterity than the British druids were, as will appear hereafter; who humorously bigotted in their way, by their haughty disdain of letters and contempt of writing, treasured all in their own noddles, whereas the Irish druids, less strict in the ancient rules of their profession, scrupled not to record in writing, and thereby transmitted to succeeding times the many histories of their monarchs and princes, the genealogies of their chief tribes and families, and other occurrences of note, many of which are to this day to be seen among them. All which helps the Britons in a great measure wanted, by the inexcusable pride and folly of our British druids, who superstitiously avoided that way of communicating. But how learned and knowing soever they were in many things, they buried all with them, to the exceeding loss of posterity, except what the learned in other nations took notice of, and left in their account of them. This unhappy temper of the British druids has left our nation so much in the dark, that during their time we have very little to depend on, but what the names of places, and other footsteps of ancient things, will give us room to make the best use we can of guesses and conjectures. But though our British druids did religiously abstain from the use of writing; yet it is not unlikely, but that our bards and genealogists were men of greater latitude, and took the liberty to record in writing the names and descents, and some accounts also, of our British kings and princes; for it is owned by *Cæsar* himself, that they had letters among them, and that they sometimes used them in their public and private affairs, though in things appertaining to religion they very strictly forbore the use of them, and communicated their systems, *ore tenus*, in rhythmical odes and verses, to their hearers.

This

This is what naturally occurs to my thoughts, of the original divisions and subdivisions of lands, and of the denomination of them in our ancient British language; I insist not in the least on it, farther than probable; who will, may reject it; and though I think the names of *Bôd*, *Tref*, and *Caer*, in that original imposition might import one and the same thing, but in different respects and degrees of subordination—that is, that every principal, divided and subdivided allotment or tenure, in respect of its mansion or dwelling-place, might be called *Bôd*; in respect of its defence and enclosure, *Caer*; and in respect of the lands annexed and appropriated to it, *Tref*—yet in succeeding ages, when the greater *Bôds* came to be multiplied and dwindled into numbers of separate households, and when some entrenchments grew to the strength and bigness of towns and castles, then some of those minute and lesser families assumed the name of *Bôd*, and some retained the name of *Tref*; but the name of *Caer* was generally taken up by greater forts, and afterwards applied to towns and castles. Though I must confess some of our most ancient entrenchments, that have been once considerable, are to this day frequently called *Casr*, sometimes with and sometimes without any addition to it.

Hence the names of * *Bôd* and *Tref* are very frequently to be found among us; but rarely *Caer*, except when applied to towns and cities or some noted entrenchments. And I make no doubt, but such English names of places as end in *ham's*, *bee's*, and *ton's*, as *Nottingham*, *Applebee*, and *Watlington*, and many more, are no other than these very *Bôds*, *Trefs* and *Caers*, expressed so in the Saxon tongue. And I am informed that in all Wales and Cornwall there are no names of places more common than these; except in South-Wales, where the name *Bôd* is not so frequent. And whether they are so in Armorica, Ireland, and in the Highlands, or whether they have other ancient names of the same signification, I yet want information. From these original divisions and distributions of lands we have now our manors, townships, and hamlets.

* From this *Bôd* I conceive we have *Hafod*, *Cwmbed* or *Cwmwil*, and from thence *Cwmbedog*,⁽¹⁾ or *Cwmnydog*, *Cymmodi* and *Cymmod*.

SECTION IV.

Of the first language spoke in this isle of Mona, and whether it be the same with the present Welsh.

THE first beginnings of nations having so little footsteps in history, no wonder if that of this little spot of earth in so obscure a corner, as to true matter of fact, be as dark as we can imagine then the island. But in these inextricable recesses of antiquity we must borrow other lights to guide us through, or content ourselves to be without any. Analogy of ancient names and words, a rational coherence and congruity of things, and plain natural inferences and deductions grounded thereon, are the best authorities we can rely upon in this subject, when more warrantable relations and records are altogether silent in the matter.

What language was first spoken in the western parts of Europe, it is not easy to determine; neither doth antiquity decide the point. All that it tells us is, that the ancientest names in several parts of the kingdom of France, and throughout the isle of Great-Britain, are by the best congruity of sound and reason of the thing, as our learned Camden and the French Bochart have made appear in several instances, resolved to our present Welsh and British etymons; which must be an argument that this language at first gave them those names—which names generally betokening the nature or some eminent property of the places or things so named (as the first imposed names that were compounded of two or more sounds expressing different ideas generally did), continued on them without any great alteration to this day.

But whether this language that bestowed at first those names upon them made any long stay in those regions so remote from us, wherein it has left some marks and footsteps of its once being there; or whether those first nations and consequently the original languages, at the first peopling of the world after the universal deluge, like the billows of the sea, jostled and tumbled out one another, cannot indeed be certainly affirmed. Though, on consideration of the passions of human nature, such a procedure may appear very probable; yet it looks true upon very good grounds that that language, which first came over to the isle of Albion or Great-Britain, was the same that continued in it for many

ages after ; and consequently must be the first language used and spoken in this part of it, the Isle of Anglesey.

This language, call it Celtic or British, or what you will, was undoubtedly one of the primary vocal modes and expressions of mankind after the dispersion at Babel. And indeed to trace this affair to the very root, to speculate this subject after the true and natural idea of it, we must conceive all languages since the confusion at Babel to be merely artificial and invented ; excepting the sacred Hebrew, which was inspired, or at least the result of the supernatural knowledge of the first man before the fall, and communicated to his posterity.

For though God had originally implanted in the very essence of man the power and faculty of speaking, and communicating to others the inward conceptions of his mind, by certain audible notes and marks of things—which notes and marks are made up of an infinite variety of the modulation of the voice and turns of pronunciation, which are words ; yet for all this, the use and exercise of this power, as to the modification of those marks and choice of words to express the inward ideas and conceptions, is altogether arbitrary and elective ; that is, in short, altho' it be natural to speak, yet to speak this or that tongue or language is plainly artificial and voluntary.

This being the very case and circumstance of all mankind at that time, when they were justly deprived of the use and memory of the first universal tongue, excepting the house and family of Heber ; their former radicated habits and acquired arts of elocution being by that condign judgment taken away from them to the very bare power and faculty : the case being so I say, it is very reasonable to suppose, (the happiness of societies consisting in mutual assistance, and that in understanding one another) that the several societies of those people who departed from Babel, as they banded and associated themselves together to replant and inhabit again the face of the earth, made it their first and chiefest business to put in act, and exercise that power and faculty of speaking, which only was left to them ; by the exercise and practice of which power they might frame and excogitate words to carry out and communicate their thoughts and apprehensions to each other, as the importance and exigencies of their various affairs called upon them to do.

Utilitas expressit nomina rerum. Lucret. lib. v. 1028.

In that work and labour of inventing new ways and forms of expressing their thoughts to one another (their former modes of utterance
F being

being for a time rather * confounded than quite obliterated in that miraculous stupor) they could not chuse, having their other senses (except the memory, which seemed to have been grievously subverted) left to them entire and inviolate, but hit now and then, in cloathing their notions with new sounds, upon some relicts and pieces of their old and ruined language; and from these relicts and ruins the primitive tongues borrowed and built their different and various structures and compositions. Whence is it that most of the ancient languages of the world have more or less in them, according as they more or less degenerated from their ancient forms, words that are Hebrew or very little altered from it.

Thus the nations of the earth, as they divided themselves into separate communities and plantations, so each of these, falling upon a distinct set of words, improved their stock, and cultivated in a short time their rude, gross, unshapen forms of speech by a constant daily practice into various and distinct languages.

And so that language which diffused itself into this western part of Europe, and arrived in the isle of Great Britain, and at last crept into this corner of it, the Isle of Mona, being one of those primary tongues, we cannot but conceive it at its first coming here to be very poor and barren, as all other tongues then of the same rise and progress generally were. For in those circumstances of a vagrant, loose, unsettled life, as the notions of people were flat and vulgar, busied only, it seems, about obvious rusticities and the more urgent concerns of life; so may we imagine their expressions to have been very much contracted and scanty, rude and barbarous; consisting for the most part perhaps of a gross heap of monosyllables, and a few general words and compound names of things.

But when these people had in this isle of Britain, as in other places of the world, fixed and settled themselves here and there in several plantations and colonies; and when ease and opportunity by enlarging the object of their knowledge had made them more speculative and thoughtful, they soon began to cultivate and augment their way and manner of speaking—by daily inventing and adding new words—by

* The Scripture says, that God confounded the first tongue, Gen. xi. 9. we may note the word confound, *Bala* in the original, properly implies *disorder* and *confusion*; and therefore God in that act did not form any new languages, as some imagine, but destroyed and confounded the old, leaving mankind, from their innate power of speaking, to frame new ones, as they banded together into several societies and governments; which is an easy and natural account of that procedure, without recurring to miracles, and creating new languages instead of the old.

polishing and compounding the old, as fresh and unwonted occasions offered and presented themselves, and as the overtures of affairs stirred and quickened their imaginations to give life and vigour to the performance.

And this improvement of language might so far proceed, in the several parts of one and the same nation and people, as to run itself into very distinct idioms and dialects, according as the differences of temper and remoteness of places gave occasion. And hence the mighty differences at this day in the dialects of the Slavon, Teutonic, and our own ancient British tongue do proceed, and are most rightly to be accounted for.

Now the language of the first inhabitants of the Isle of Anglesey, though agreeing in root and substance with that of the rest of the nation, as evidently appears by the ancient common appellations of towns, of mountains, of rivers, and the like, throughout the whole isle of Britain; yet the particular improvement they made in the said isle of Anglesey, and its neighbouring borders, in enriching and polishing the tongue, might so far differ from other improvements made in the other provinces of the isle of Britain, as plainly to diversify their first and common language into unlike and different dialects, as they were observed to be in the days of Cæsar; and yet every one of those idioms and different forms of speaking, arriving to different degrees of politure and perfection, might in after-ages, as that of Cæsar's was, appear to strangers as several different languages, as the Welsh and Cornish, Highland-Scotch, Bretoon and Irish now do, though all proceeding from one common head or fountain, viz. the ancient Celtic or British tongue; and as of late the Roman Latin was the mother of the Italian, French, and Spanish tongues, and each of these of their subdivided dialects. Thus languages from one common root will naturally branch themselves into variety of divisions and improvements.

In the progress of this improvement, some languages went on by borrowing strange and foreign words, advantaged by their mutual commerce and frequent intermixtures with other nations: And some others, perhaps more out of necessity and choice, set up on their proper stock and furniture—Of which last sort I conceive the language of the Isle of Mona and of its neighbouring borders to be; and on that account may be concluded the oldest and purest of all the British dialects. For this place being the farthest western point of the whole region, the people of it must be presumed to have had the least commerce with

exotic forms and manners, and consequently the language to be more free from the taint of foreign mixtures, than it was in the remoter parts of the nation, where its ancient purity must of necessity be exposed to more frequent novelties and alterations.

And as it appears by this way of reasoning, that the speech and idiom of this island was the most pure and uncorrupted of all the British dialects; so likewise it may seem to have been, in its due ripeness and perfection, the most copious and polite one of the whole nation. The Isle of Mona is, by warrantable suffrage of antiquity, celebrated for one of the first and most ancient nurseries of the British druids; from whom, no doubt, the profound mysterious theorems of that learned sect flowed in the choicest and most elaborate language of the time. And their language here being vernacular, the vulgar tongue of the place; that very vulgar tongue, under the influence and correction of so great masters of it as these druids may be presumed to have been, must needs participate very much of the copiousness and clearness of these fountains; and by doing so, must expatiate and unfold itself in numerous variety of well chosen fitted words, and, which is its property, I may say its excellency, to this day, in exact significancy and comprehensiveness of expression.

Now that the present Welsh, at this time spoken in the Isle of Anglesey and her neighbouring countries, is that very language brought in by her first inhabitants, enlarged and polished by the learned druids, modulated and sweetened by the ancient bards (so that no poetry in the world is more various and artificial), and kept up and cultivated to this day by the enamoured votaries of the British muses, is evident principally from these two reasons.

FIRST, There are very many ancient British words which have no resemblance to, no coherence in sound and signification with, the words of any other language in the world except the Hebrew, so as to be in any possibility of being derived from them, as far as could be yet perceived. This evinces that the British language is, in its radical parts at least, plainly aboriginal: no footsteps of it any where appearing, but in those places where it is allowed the antient Celtæ for some while inhabited, or their Gaulish and British offspring had sent their colonies. For, if this language of ours had come here, and had been derived from the language of any other part of the world, its spring and origin might be traced out. But since it cannot be done, among any nation or people, but within its own territories, it is a sure argument,

ment, that it wholly depends upon its national origin and foundation; and consequently that it is in substance the language of the first planters of this British isle and nation, and therefore the first in this Isle Mona.

SECONDLY, If it appears, that the same nation continued in this Isle of Mona, in a constant uninterrupted succession of people, from the first planting of it to this day; it follows that the same language these people used and practised (being so very good and expressive, as I have already shewn) must continue here as uninterruptedly as those people whose language it was. For no reason can be given, why, by what means, and in what periods of time, this same language, the same people continuing, should be exterminated or utterly cease and perish.

It is true, new people generally do introduce new languages, or very much corrupt and alter the old; but here we had no such thing. There are no records, no authentic marks of antiquity, to shew us, that amidst the various mutations of people, tongues, and nations, in the other parts of the world, the inhabitants of this little island have been ever dispossessed, or so outed of their primier possession of it, as that any other nation or people took up their place, and kept themselves possessed of it.

The Irish under *Sirig* the Rover, who once indeed drove the inhabitants out of the island; were soon after themselves outed and expelled by *Melirion ap Meirchion*, and his cousin *Caswallon law bŷr*, who killed the said *Sirig* at a place called *Cappel Gwyddil*, as tradition has it. And when at other times these Irish pillagers came by stealth into the island, they were soon routed and driven out; so that they could not much prejudice the former ancient speech used here, much less abolish it. No other nation ever attempted our expulsion. The Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans sought only our submission, and had it; but never any of them sought to disseminate and enforce their language upon us*.

Now all this being considered, it is absurd to imagine that a people ever remaining in their generations one and the same, in one and the same island, as these had done, and also so well qualified with promptness and facility of expression; as these were, should universally forsake and abandon their native language, without the appearance of any reasonable causes inclining them to it. Yet, though it should appear beyond denial, that this ancient language should and did keep perpetual

* See this assertion contradicted in the preface to Dr. Davies's Grammar.

residence from first to last in this little island, it cannot be doubted but that in the long space of some thousands of years, this language, though ever so complete and polished, must after very much in its mode and propriety of speaking, according to the variety of times and humours of people; and so like a long continued river take in many branches, and probably lose a few, in its constant flux and current.

Thus the Romans added some words, and the Danes and Saxons a few also; to our British dictionary; while desuetude and oblivion swallowed a great many of the ancient sounds of it, when new ones were entertained and cherished. And of late, since the neighbouring English hath so much encroached upon it, and is become the genteel and fashionable tongue among us, many more words lie by us obsolete and useless, which were before perhaps the flowers and ornaments of our language; and more still would have done, if the commendable industry of some, affectionately devoted to the ancient language, had not by various indefatigable methods, opposed its dissipation and ruin.

The words that have been thus neglected, and by disuse have perished, were for the most part, I suppose, certain adjectives and synonymous redundancies of the tongue, or terms relating to the laws, religion, and other superannuated rites and methods of ancient times. For the people, I dare affirm, preserved entire and uncorrupted the more substantial notations of things, from their first footing here to this day; as the original expressive names of the most known and remarkable objects among them, are, to any one that considers their true etymons, or those most ancient sounds and monosyllables out of which they have been compounded, plain and undeniable evidences. *Wydd-va, Mall-træth, Moel-fre, Cors-ddigai, Pen-Maen, Corn-wy, Eryri*, and innumerable others, whose first originally imposed names we have all reason in the world to believe were never altered, by the same people, retaining the same language, as these have done. And this we may safely conclude, because such compound names as express the perpetual natures of the things they signify, as the first imposed names generally did, may be well supposed to be original. And indeed such names we now find to be so significative, and so patly resolvable to our Welsh etymons, that, granting those names to have been originally imposed, and allowing the parts of them to be purely Welsh, as certainly they are; if we were now to new-name them, we could scarce give them fitter names, and more expressive of their peculiar properties and natures, than those we find originally imposed on them. And those names being in
their

their parts and composition purely Welsh, what is more probable, than that ~~this~~ was the first, nay the only prevailing language, we ever had among us?

All this, with the guttural pronunciation of some of our syllables, the * resemblance of many of our modern words, and the near affinity of our phrase and syntax with the most ancient Hebrew tongue, is and will be a convincing argument, that our present language in the more radical strokes of it, is one of the primary issues of that sacred fountain—that is, is the chief remains of the ancient Celtic or British tongue, which, with our nation, hath kept its ground (what few or no other tongues or nations in the world have done) for about the space of three thousand and five hundred years.

SECTION VII.

The Laws and Religion of the first inhabitants of this Island.

WHEN the Isle of Mona, as the other parts of the British isles, became thoroughly improved and inhabited, and those inhabitants had fixed and settled their abodes and colonies in the several divisions of it; for their more secure enjoyment of what they possessed, and for a future establishment of a peaceable and regular course of life, we may well conceive, that human nature, under the conduct and authority of their prime leaders or deputed sovereigns, soon prompted them to the consideration of two things, viz. Laws and Religion.—— Their strong unabridged passions and interfering appetites necessarily forcing them to the use of the one; and their innate faculties, deeply impressed with the sense of a deity, and of the immortality of their souls, seconded by the precepts and traditional documents of their elders, putting them inevitably on the performances of the other. *Ufu exigente* (as Justinian observes) *et humanis necessitatibus gentes humana quedam sibi jura constituerant.*

Of what form and mode of institution either of these at first were, we want direct authority to inform us. But, first, as to their laws and form of government in their divided and subdivided clans and families, here and in other countries, in these first migrations of people, we have great inducement to believe, that their little cantons and eco-

* See the Table at the end.

nomies were altogether under the rule and government of, and swayed and directed by, the eldest living ancestor of the tribe or colony, by right of primogeniture (which we find very anciently asserted and claimed in the express case of Jacob and Esau), with submission and deference nevertheless in matters of appeal or recognition to more ancient superior sovereigns; such as no doubt they had at those times (men then living to a great age) presiding and reigning over many societies of people descending from them: as Noah for instance and his three sons, while they lived (and they lived many years, one of them five hundred years after the deluge) reigned over all the tribes of mankind. For it must be allowed that the moral law, which God had written in the hearts of men, was of force enough to influence and dispose the communities of people in all countries to pay submission and obedience to, and thereby to establish sovereignty and regal authority in, those persons who were the chief heads of them, and out of whose loins they issued.

And indeed no less than this comes to seem to me to be hinted at by Moses in the tenth chapter of Genesis; where accounting for these divisions under the sons and grandsons of Noah, he says, they were divided or separated, after their tongues, after their families, *בנות bego-jebem*, in their nations; implying that though their communities and separated governments, over which their more immediate chiefs or heads of families presided, were many, and far and wide extended; yet it is there expressly said, that however they were divided after their tongues and families, and how far soever they were dispersed in planting their colonies, they were nevertheless comprehended, and remained incorporated in their peculiar nations, as the particle *ו* there plainly intimates; where the words expressing *tongues and families* have the particle *ו* before them, viz. *juxta, secundum*; differencing the import and meaning of the last from the two former—And that difference, not once but three or four times repeated, adds some weight to the observation I have made on this passage.

Now these nations being thus distinguished by the holy penman, and the heads and rulers of these nations there expressly named and recorded, by whom they were founded; being, every nation of them, the natural progeny and descendants of those founders, as they were of Noah, who was the father of them all; and by that paternal right, while he lived (and he lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood) sole monarch of the universe—it will follow undeniably, that as Noah was

by divine institution, grounded on the moral law, the supreme monarch of the world; so that power and governing authority, which he bequeathed and transmitted to his sons and grandsons (founded on the same paternal right, and so from them, in all the branches of it, to the smallest colony) was the same; that is, was purely * regal—and so continued, till Nimrod in the East and the Titans in the West, by usurpations and conquests deformed the original scheme, and founded new empires.

And as this authoritative part of government, from which laws take their life and sanction, was apparently from the divine right which parents have to rule and govern the families issuing from them, when no superior right overflows; so in our part of the world, which I am now accounting for, the laws and orders which were then made, being rules by which those families under such governor's care and inspection were to act, and conform themselves to, must bear the stamp and lie under the regulation of this authority. Yet as to the matter and import, as to the sorts and qualities of these laws, we must conclude them not to be uniform in all places; for that is not to be imagined—but very various and different, according to the different ends and causes of them, in several colonies,

And on this account it will seem very probable, that in those earliest ages, when people were just fixing themselves, and their rulers or *Tyr-rhannwyr* were distributing them into clans and societies; I say it seems very likely then, that justice and civility, that is, a strict inviolable regard of permitting every one to live safely, and to enjoy his own without disturbance or oppression, made up the only legal pacts and regulations among them; agreed to by the obeying people, and equally adjusted to the honour, support, and service of their chiefs, and to the welfare and safety of every particular person. And in that case and to that end, there is little doubt to be made, but that these deputed chiefs and proprietors of new settlements, which they and their offspring were to possess and inhabit, having the same authority over their descendants as their elders had over them in the like circumstances, took great care in the distribution of *Bóds* and tribes, not only to assign their bounds

* If mankind sprang from one man, then the original power was one and monarchical; if from many, as the heathen opinion was, then it was democratical; the arguments on either side will hold, and are convertible: for if the original power was democratical, then mankind originally sprang out of many; if regal and monarchical, then all people derive their origination from one man, of which the Scripture is a sure warrant.

(from which act of assignment I take the name *Tyr-rbannwyr* with us, and *Tyranni*, τυραννοι, in other nations to come) but also to establish such laws and provisions in every assignment or *Rbandyr*, which name we still retain, as obliged every person within the district to live peaceably on his own; and also to contribute according to certain stated rules—which it is not to be expected can be now determined—towards the support of the state and dignity of such as had authority to protect and govern them in their particular colonies.

And also, if it should happen that any of these chiefs and rulers should so far exceed the power of a father, by which he was to govern justly and mildly, as to encroach over-much on his people's rights and possessions, and thereby occasion the abuse of that, at first, laudable name *Tyrannus* to be what we now call Tyrant; it is not to be imagined, but that such a case, so obvious to be foreseen, was consulted and provided against by their wise progenitors in the first distribution of those powers—who might either appoint a league or union, among several neighbouring colonies, or make some head or chief, inheriting by primogeniture the superior rights of some common ancestor, to be responsible unto, as having a paramount authority and power vested in him to correct exorbitances, and to rectify what might happen amiss.

And such rules and overtures being very necessary among the increasing colonies to avoid confusion and rebellion, we cannot think that Noah, Japheth, and Gomer, from whom our nation descended, would be wanting in supplying us with such political documents as tended to maintain peace and regularity in all our settlements. Nay, for some proof of this, among those rules which go under the name of the *Statutes of the Sons of Noah*, the credit of which is indeed by some disputed, but strongly defended by our learned Selden * and others, we find one of them to be, *De judiciis*, viz. of making decisions and giving judgments, which in all probability related to this particular.

This way of governing in the first ages of the world—for I only undertake here to account for the *first* planting of these countries, before the Titan princes, who were of our own race and language, as appears by the † names of several of them, overspread Europe with their conquests

* De Jur. Nat. & Gent. lib. i. cap. 10.

† Achmon, i. e. *Bon-ach* or *Achau*; probably so called by his posterity, as being head of their lineage.

Vranus, i. e. *Vranin*, *our on* (vir supremus) Achmon's son.

conquests—seems to be most warrantable in itself; as being founded on the divine right of paternal authority, and also agreeable to the word of God. For as that word informs us that all power is from God, who created one man to people, and miraculously preserved another with his family to re-people the world; so it plainly points out to us the course and conveyance of this power, and as plainly shews us the form and manner of it. And though, by the necessity of times and places and other exigencies of human affairs, this authority and power became afterwards divided into abundance of little lordships and principalities, and confined within very small territories and jurisdictions; yet as to the nature of it, in the most diminutive colonies, where people obeyed one lord or chief, it was as monarchical as in the largest kingdoms.

I need not wade far in these deep obscurities of time to trace this affair of laws and government, and how they were first constituted. History soon relieves me; proving what I said to our hands, by making its first accounts of kings and princes reigning not only here, but in every part of the world it touches upon. It shews how great empires were soon after the dispersion erected, partly by conquests, and partly by resuming to the surviving heirs of some of the first ancestors of na-

Saturnus, i. e. *Saf-teyn* (imperator stabilis) the first fixed and settled monarch; son of Vranus.

Jupiter, Jovis, i. e. *Jowan* (juvenis princeps) Saturn's son.

Hercules, i. e. *Ercyll* (horrendus) a noted tyrant and destroyer of people.

Vulcanus, i. e. *Mael-gyn* or *Mael-gynta* (M pro V, ut sæpe in vocib. Brit.) the inventor, or first wearer of steel armor.

Mars, Mavors, i. e. *Mawr-ravys*, powerful, warlike; now *Maurica* or *Meris*.

Mercurius, i. e. *March-wr*, horseman, or a speedy messenger; hence the Britons called him *Tentates*, *Duu-taib*, the traveller's deity.

Neptunus, i. e. *Nof-ddys* (super aquas natans) a sea-faring prince.

Triton, i. e. *Trewydan* (per undas vagans) another sea-captain.

Apollo, i. e. *ap Haul*; Apollinis, *ap Haulyn* (filius solis).

Rhea, Jove's mother, i. e. *Rbier*, a lady or princess.

Juno, i. e. *Gain* or *Cain*, fair; now *Gainer*.

Venus, i. e. *Gwen*, white.

Diana, i. e. *Di anaf*; spotless, chaste, unharmed.

Minerva, i. e. *Min-Arfau*; as if, among other arts, inventress of tempering and sharpening of mechanical tools and weapons.

Now, if the signification of sounds, whereof names consist, will be allowed to give good evidence what language they were taken from and derived, I think none can make a better claim to the etymology of these Titan names, agreeable with the known circumstances and quality of the persons so named, than what the ancient Celtic or British tongue evidently doth; and how this came to pass, and on what account those Titans, who were afterwards made heathen gods, came to have these British names, there being undeniably more of British than of any other language in them, I shall hereafter have occasion to mention. More of their names may have the same origin, but many of our old words, and by them the way of finding it, being lost, these I have now produced will serve to prove that we and they were then one and the same nation.

tions the power, or at least the submission, of these little princes, who perhaps owed them, on that right of primogeniture, what we now call homage and dependance. See Gen. xxvii. 29. where the patriarchal right of disposing sovereignties by birth-right is exemplified. But yet that right is in some cases forfeitable; as in the case of Esau in the cited text, and of Reuben in the first of Chron. v. 1—by which it appears that hereditary right is not in all cases indefeasible.

But these mighty hunters, as the Scripture calls them, did not long prevail in these western parts of the world. The ravished power, wrongfully wrested and insulted upon, soon returned to its ancient channels, except in a few places, where that irregular ambition reversed its course, and crept into private breasts, ejecting kings and setting up republics. These of old were wens that grew out of the corruption of kingly government: But from the beginning it was not so.

It shews us also, that on the mighty encrease of the Roman empire, all Germany, Gallia, Spain, and Britain swarmed with vast numbers of petty kings and sovereigns; and those also had many lords and rulers of people under them, who governed their own vassals with sovereign authority.

In Britain these little lords and rulers confederated together into formed communities of several denominations: Trinobantes, Brigantes, Iceni, Silures, Ordovices, and many more. Some of these had kings: Others on occasion chose captains and leaders to manage their warfare; of which last sort I take the Ordovices to have been; under which name the inhabitants of this Isle of Mona, when the Romans invaded us, were reckoned.

This Cornelius Tacitus somewhat plainly intimates, when describing the war against the Silures and Ordovices over whom Caractacus was general, he represents him styling himself *Plurium gentium imperator*, captain-general of many nations*. And yet these could be but the Ordovices and Silures, divided into many septs and tribes, which he calls nations. Hence also it was, that Tacitus says of the Ordovician army in that expedition, “The leaders of every nation went about exhorting and encouraging their men.” And giving further account of those mens courage and resolution, he says, “They bound themselves, every one by oath [*Gentili religione*] according to the religion of his country;” which shews that the body of this Ordovician army consisted of

* Corn. Tacit. Annal. lib. xii.

petty lords and toparchs, whose little dominions or *Llwythau* had their several laws and usages. A resemblance of which we find at this day in the highlands of Scotland; where, notwithstanding the laws of the kingdom, the heads and chiefs of colonies, which corruptly they call Clans, have or pretend to have as much commanding right over their vassals, as any German prince has over his lawful subjects. And what of this law and government remained with the Britons in Wales I shall hereafter have another occasion to mention.

SECONDLY, As we find but little of these peoples first laws and civil constitutions, so also the first religion of the original colonies of this Island cannot now be particularly determined from any schemes of it delivered to posterity. All therefore that we can judge of the matter is either *à priori*, from the natural grounds and cause of it; or *à posteriori*, from the visible effects and consequences of it; as each of these occur, and are discoverable to us.

From the first of these methods, viz. *à priori*, I have this to say; that the most ancient of those people who came first into this island, were, as may be well presumed from the calculation of the encrease of mankind after the flood, within four or five descents at farthest from Noah or one of his sons. It is therefore highly reasonable to think, that that great lesson of omnipotence, justice, and mercy, which God taught those eight persons in the ark, must have been well remembered and contemplated in those early periods of time; and must needs have wrought in the minds of those people clear and vigorous apprehensions of the adorable attributes of God; and thereby have disposed them to a just sense in themselves of their own meanness and inconsiderableness, and of their necessary and absolute dependance on the supreme beneficent Being they adored and venerated.

This solid foundation of true religion and worship, we may well suppose, was so deeply laid and settled in the minds of men for some centuries after the flood, that many people in their several settlements and colonies, at these earliest times, raised upon it acceptable adorations of the true, only, supreme God. And consequently I may presume to affirm, that some of the first planters of this Island, being so near in descent to the fountains of true religion and worship as to have one of Noah's sons for grandfire or great-grandfire, may be well imagined to have carried and conveyed here some of the rites and usages of that true religion, pure and untainted in their first propagating of them: though I must confess they soon after became, as well here as in other countries,
abominably

abominably corrupted, and perverted into the grossest heathenish fictions and barbarities.

If we consider the ancient state of true religion, we shall find it, in the primitive and natural impressions of it, to have been very concise and central—seated only in the heart, and aimed and directed thence to God, its true and only sovereign; and therefore exerting itself in very few external rites and performances, viz. only in those of oblations and sacrifices; wherein the sincere worshippers of God, in those external acts, both submissly recognized and adored the divine majesty, and at the same time propitiated and atoned for their own acknowledged guilts and delinquencies.

Now as this short contracted scheme of their first divinity was soon learned, and as easily communicated, so we may charitably think that very many of our first planters sincerely kept to it, in the several advances of their colonizing progressions, until they came to fix and settle themselves. But when that happened, as constant toil and labour served before to kindle and unite their zeal and devotion towards Heaven, so then ease and opportunity, ever the corruptors of the minds of men, gave them way to bend and sport with that sacred lamp of religion, which at first blazed and, as I may say, coned directly upwards, so as to distort it into almost infinite varieties of idolatrous modes and inventions.

It being granted that oblations and sacrifices were the chief public and visible acts of the religion and worship of those ancient times; we may next conceive, that at that time the warmth and light of that religion, when in its purity and candor, had a very apt and natural tendency to move and direct those people, at every place they fixed and chose to dwell in, to raise up altars to the great deity; on which they offered and sent up to Heaven their thanks and praises for its manifold blessings on their attempts and adventures, in their oblations and sacrifices of such good things as the places they were in afforded. And in such acts and devotions it seems they wanted not rules and precepts for those performances, inculcated and communicated to them from Noah himself, that great preacher of righteousness; or at least they might be led and guided to them by his great example, (Gen. viii. 20.) who no sooner was out of the ark, but his first work was to erect an altar, and offer sacrifice unto the Lord.

Thus it is warrantable to think, that this great example, together with the force and influence of Noah's exhortations, prevailed on many of his descendants,

descendants, as they proceeded on in peopling the earth, to erect altars either of stone or earth, for of both sorts they had, in every country they came into, to offer to God their adorations and most solemn and grateful acknowledgments of his goodness unto, and of his sovereignty over, the sons of men.

And therefore it is (to proceed to my second argument in this method, viz. *à posteriori*) that from the effects and visible monuments of this first religion, we are left to guess at the cause and quality of it. Of this sort of evidence we have one great altar of stone, of considerable bigness, upon the bank of the river *Menai*, now in the parish of *Llan Edwæn*, which may seem to have been, as the biggest, so the first and chiefest one of the whole island; whereon the first-fruits of the place might be offered to God by those very first men who came into it. Though afterwards other such altars were erected for the religious worship and the performances of oblations and sacrifices in the several colonies of it, of which not a few remain standing here and there to this day.

These altars of stone (where stone served to raise them up) were huge broad flattish stones mounted up and laid upon other erect ones, and leaning, with a little declivity in some places, on those pitched supporters; which posture, for some now-unaccountable reasons, they seem to have affected. These altars were and are to this day vulgarly called by the name of *Crom-lech*; either from their bending position, which is generally believed; or rather (that bending posture being not always to be found in every one of those monuments, nor indeed applicable to the idea and notion of *Crom* in our language) that these first men—I shall adventure to guess—carried the name with them from Babel, as they did several other words, and called it *Cæram-lech*, from the Hebrew *חור לוח* i. e. *Cæram-luach*, a devoted stone or altar.

It is not improbable neither, but that they did sometimes prefix the word *Cærem* or *Crem* to other things belonging to their sacrifices besides stone-altars, though now such names be quite disused and utterly lost and forgotten; save in one or two places, which are called *Crem-lwyn*, or *Cremlyn*, as generally pronounced; in one of which places there are some stone-monuments and a standing *Cromlech* near it (as if it had been one of their *Cremhoyneau*, or sacrificing groves) shewing tokens of some extraordinary celebration of that place.

I have made frequent enquiries into the traditions of places concerning the original of these *Cromlechs*, and only found them by some called

Coetene

Coetene Arthbur, i. e. *Arthur's Quoits*. Others would have them to be the sepulchres of some renowned commanders, or great men of yore, who fell and were interred in those places. Of the first, it is usual with the vulgar to ascribe all uncouth gigantic things to king Arthur, the great hero of our British fables. In the latter, I deny not but there may be some appearance of truth, and yet consistent enough with what I have said of them. For they might be both sepulchres and altars in a different sense, I mean those of latter erection; because when the great ones of the first ages fell, who were eminent among the people for some extraordinary qualities and virtues, their enamoured posterity continued their veneration of them to their very graves—over which they probably erected some of these altars or *Gromlecbe*; on which, when the true religion became depraved and corrupted, they might make oblations and offer sacrifices to their departed ghosts. From this practice, it is likely, grew the apotheosis of the first heroes, and from thence the gross idolatries of the Gentiles.

There are also huge coped heaps of stones in many places, as well in this island as in other countries, to be yet seen; which I take to be the relics of some ancient modes and ceremonies of that first (but by that time perverted) religion. And these heaps they generally call *Carnedde*, perhaps from קרן נדב i. e. *Keren Nedb*, a coped heap.

It is believed also, that these too are the burial-places of some eminent commanders, who falling and being interred in those places, their admiring soldiers, as a signal specimen of their love and respect to their memory, and to make shew of their numbers, carried each one his stone to lay upon their graves, as they carried earth in their helmets, in other countries, to raise up a *Tumulus* or a lasting monument and memorial of them. But the latter part of this surmise is not like to be the true reason of these *Cumuli*. For there are some of these heaps so large, that they required a more numerous army than ever was in this island to bring every one his stone to raise it up. And besides, there are certain kinds of stones to be found in some of these *Carnedde*; that have been carried there, as will appear by the quality of them, from very distant parts of the country; which will seem rather to infer that they were the effects of some kinds of sacrifice, where every family, or perhaps every particular person, either at some peculiar festivals, or occasionally as they chanced to pass by, brought and offered each one his stone; of which we have some glimmering in the ancient compound word *Coel-Faen* used to this day; by which is expressed what is good and valuable. And we

have moreover some shadows and remains among us of the very action in our *Coel-ceithie*, which perhaps were originally private sacrifices, kindled any where about the house to the *Penates* or household-gods, as the other was public and local. For into these *Coel-ceithie* people use, even to this day, to throw and offer each one his stone, though they know not for what. The Irish also have these anniversary firings, and call them *Breocual*, i. e. *Breoch Cual*, whether from *Coel* I know not. And they call an oath *Mionna*, perhaps from this word *Maen*. For it is certain that people in ancient times swore and made covenants upon stones; which might be the reason the ancient Britons put the word *Maen* in their form of swearing—as *Maen Jaco*, *Maen Elian*, corruptly *My'n*: and the Greeks have something like it, when they swear *Μα Δία*, by their great Jupiter.

It may be objected here, that our *Coel-ceithie*, celebrated on the last of October, were rather continued memorials either of some notable victories obtained by the ancient Britons against, or of some signal deliverances from, their enemies; which indeed is what is generally conceived of them. But the word *Coel*, of which it is compounded, gives stronger grounds of probability that it really was some solemn appurtenance of religion, though now quite forgotten—as *Coel-bren*, *Coel-grefydd*, and *Coelio* seem to intimate; being all words expressing some rites and usages of religion. But whether the word be *Coel-Gerth*, à *difficultate impetrationis*; or *Coel-Coeth*, à *peccatorum purgatione*; or *Coel-Ceith*, à *oblatorum uestione*, I will not pretend to determine*.

These *Carnedde* are in smaller proportions in several parts of this island; though not taken notice of, because generally the lesser heaps are hid out of sight by a covering of thorns and bushes, and sometimes a grassy mould or earth growing over them. And of these lesser heaps of stones I take the common tradition to be right, in making them originally the graves of men, signal either for eminent virtues or † notorious villanies: on which heaps every one probably looked upon himself obliged, as he passed by, to bestow a stone; in veneration of his good life and virtue, or in detestation of his vileness and improbity. And this custom, as to the latter part of the conjecture, is still practised among us. For when any unhappy wretch is buried *in biviis*, on our cross-ways, out of Christian-burial, the passengers for some while throw stones on his grave, till they raise there a considerable heap; which has made it a proverbial

* It is written *Coelcrath*, *Coelceith*, and *Coelcath*.

† Joshua vii. 26.

curse, in some parts of Wales, to say, *Karn ar dy ben**, that is, *Ull bide thee*. I have caused one of these lesser *Cumuli* to be opened, and found under it a very curious urn. And it is well known to have been the ancient practice of many other nations to raise sepulchral heaps on the places of the interment of their dead.

But of the larger *Carnedde*, such as are in some places to this day, of considerable bulk and circumference; I cannot affirm them to be any other than the remains and monuments of ancient sacrifices, the positive rites of religion and worship at those times. And though the particular manner and circumstances of that sort of worship, viz. by throwing and heaping of stones, are found extant in no records at this day, except what we have of the ancient way of worshipping Mercury in that manner; yet some hints there are of it in the most ancient history of Moses, particularly in that solemn transaction between Laban and Jacob, which may be supposed to be an ancient patriarchal custom, universally spread in those coarse unpolished times; and consequently might and did, as the visible remains of it still witness, prevail in remoter countries also, and even in this I am now speaking of.

The passage I offer for it is very plain and full to the purpose, as to those countries which Moses mentions. And while our monuments agree exactly with those descriptions, I take it not unreasonable to ascribe them to the same causes.

“ And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; and they brought stones, and made a heap; and they did eat there upon the heap.” Gen. xxxi. 46. Now the design of this whole affair was to corroborate the pact † and covenant mutually entered into by these two persons, Jacob and Laban, with the most binding formalities and obligations. These obligatory ceremonies being then, I suppose, their law of nations; and these forms universally applied to by persons of different interests and parties, as the most solemn sanction of that law. The whole tenor of it runs thus: “ Moreover Laban said unto Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold this pillar, which I have set between me and thee; this heap shall be a witness, and this pillar shall be a witness, that I will not come over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not come over this heap and this pillar to me, for evil.” Ver. 51, 52.

This whole affair has no semblance of a new institution, but is rather a particular application to a general practice; because concluded by a

* Literally, *A heap on thy head*.

† *אמוד Amud* signifies a pillar; from whence probably our word *Amud* for a *covenant* might be derived.

sacrifice, the highest act of their religion, and not to be attempted by every private fancy ; and not only concluded by a sacrifice, but that sacred action seems to have been a main part of it, and the chief end for which it was instituted ; and together with the other circumstances, made up one solemn religious ceremony. “ And Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount,” that is, the heap, “ and called his brethren to eat bread.” Gen. xxxi. 54.

Now by what appears from the context, this whole transaction was a religious ceremony, instituted to adjust and determine rights and possessions in those times between different parties and colonies. And as it seems to have been one of those *Noachidum statuta*—of the statutes of the sons of Noah, as they called them ; so it is likely that the colonizing race of mankind brought and carried with them so necessary an appurtenance of their peace and security of living, as this institution was, wherever they came to fix and settle themselves ;—that they carried at least the substance of the ceremony, though they might here and there vary in some rules of application ; or perhaps pervert it to other uses than what it was designed and intended for. And hence we conclude that our larger heaps and *Carnedde*, with their standing pillars by them, which they generally have, are no other than the remaining marks and evidences of that religious ceremony and custom, recorded only by Moses in the case of Jacob and Laban, but practised also in other countries, particularly in this island, as will appear not improbable by the reasons which I shall presume to offer.

FIRST, The adjustment of personal and provincial rights and properties, by so binding and sacred an establishment as this seems to have been, was as necessary, and consequently as likely, to have been conveyed and made use of here among our communities and settlements, as in those countries where Moses has so particularly described it.

SECONDLY, Why should our heaps and *Carnedde* agree so exactly in their make and position with the description which Moses gives of those in the land of Haran ? And,

THIRDLY, How should our columns and pillar-stones come to be generally placed near our heaps, as those described by Moses were, if it was not, that both that custom there and this here proceeded from one origin, the patriarchal practice.

This considered, it will remain probable that our *Carnedde*, agreeing in their make and circumstances with those heaps, are no other than the remaining monuments of that most ancient religious ceremony ;

taught perhaps by the sons of Noah, if not derived from antediluvian precodents—though it happened to be mentioned only by Moses in that circumstance of Jacob and Laban in the land of Haran. Agreement and congruity of make, position, and peculiar circumstances, generally betoken identity of use and practice.

Besides these *Cumuli*, we have also long pitched stones or great rude columns, standing sometimes singly, sometimes many together, sometimes in good order, and sometimes without any, in many places of this, as well as of other countries; and commonly called by the inhabitants *Meini-Hirion*, *Meini-Gwyr*, *Lleche*, or the like, as they please to fancy; which I have presumed to conjecture also to have been memorials of some of our first planters' original customs and ceremonies.

I will not say they were erected on the same account with that of Jacob in Bethel, Gen. xxviii. 18. But if it be allowed us to guess in this matter, they seem to me rather to have taken their origin from that general bent and ambition of mankind to perpetuate, and as far as they could to immortalize, their otherwise frail and perishing names, in those lasting and durable monuments. Of which the tower of Babel was a great and general specimen: "Let us make us a name." Gen. xi. 4. And the pillars of Rachel and Absalom are full and pregnant particular instances. Gen. xxxv. 20. 2 Sam. xviii. 18.

These rude erected pillar-stones, though at first perhaps set up for good and warrantable purposes, might, and we may well believe, did become afterwards in these countries (as we find the like sort of pillars to have been in other countries about Syria and Palestine) the objects of idolatrous worship. For whether they clad and dressed up the pillars here into the shapes of men, or made them supporters of those twiggen images Cæsar mentions, at such times as they were worshipped, is uncertain. Yet sure we are, that the ancient Jews in those mentioned countries made idols of them, and frequently worshipped them; as appears plainly in 2 Kings xvii. 10. "They made them images," i. e. standing pillars, says the Sacred History, "and groves upon every high hill, and under every green tree." For it is evident the original word in this text, however the Seventy and subsequent translators came to render it *Images*, is *Matzebah*, i. e. a rude unhewn, uneffigiated pillar-stone, just the same sort as those of Jacob, Rachel, and Absalom were; every one of which is expressed in Scripture by the same word *Matzebah*, from *Yatzab* to pitch or erect—*Tzelom*, *Pezel*, *Teraph* being in the original tongue the constant appellatives of a true *Image*. From whence it is manifest

manifest that these rude, unshapen pillars, such as Jacob's, Rachel's, and Absalom's are described to have been, were by those apostatizing Jews undoubtedly worshipped.

Now all this considered, it will appear probable, since we have such plenty of these pillar-stones among us, exactly corresponding to the description given by infallible authority of those in Syria and Palestine, which were undoubtedly worshipped by the idolatrous Jews; I say it will appear probable that ours were so too, and that wicked custom and usage of adoring them at length prevailed with them and us too, from a respect and veneration at first given to them as symbols and memorials of sacred things; which, it seems, our priests and druids soon learned from their neighbours, or rather found conveyed here by the first planters, and then improved them with their other symbols of heaps and altars into a considerable part of their religious system. Of whom, and of which I shall next proceed to treat.

SECTION VIII.

Of the ancient Druids; of their choice of the Isle of Mona for their principal seat and habitation; of their philosophy and discipline; and of the Isle of Mona being anciently called Mam Gymru.

I MUST begin here *à priori*, as I did in the last section; that is, from the necessary grounds and reasons of mankind's first actions in colonizing the earth, I shall endeavour to establish such positions as are most coherent with, and conformable to nature, under such and such circumstances, and most agreeable to the truth of records and appearances of things. By which method I am obliged to lay down as a firm foundation, First, that a set form of speech; Secondly, that a determined scheme of laws; and, Thirdly, that a settled system of religion, jointly and naturally adhered to and accompanied the divided knots and societies of mankind, in the various advances of their progression and travels; and were conveyed with them into those countries they fixed and settled in.

This being supposed, it will in the next place be very obvious and natural to think, that each of these primary acquisitions, viz. Language, Laws, and Religion, as they were at first more rude and contracted, more rough and unpolished, only proportioned and adapted to the mere necessities of life, and to the then narrow and concise performances of divine worship;

worship; so when the several tribes and classes of people began to fix and settle themselves into formed and regular societies—then I say these acquisitions, these rational *acts* of human life began to open and display themselves, to scour off their original rudenesses, and to appear here and there more prompt, useful, and comprehensive. The languages in a short time became more trim and copious. The laws more nervous and vigorous, justly suited to the advantages of communities. And religion, the mistress of all, variegated and set herself off in multitudes of pompous shews and appearances.

Together with these first acquisitions of mankind grew up the leisurely improvements of natural and metaphysical knowledge; though these I confess have been much influenced and directed by the traditional *Cabala*, chiefly cherished and preserved in *scholâ patriarchali*—in the patriarchal repository—with which the prime *sophi* of many of the first nations, it is allowed, had frequent intercourses and communication.

Now towards this improvement of natural and supernatural knowledge in these early ages of the world, we may observe many helps and advantages to accrue naturally to these first establishers, as well of arts as of empire, in the many regions and countries they came into.

FIRST, Their most important indefatigable endeavours in *arte signorum*—in framing, enlarging, and polishing of languages, gave them occasion to make ample discoveries into the nature, habitudes, and concatenations of things, to which their excogitated sounds and new-formed words were, in a regular structure of speech, to have an agreeable reference and proportion.

SECONDLY, Their profound elaborate disquisitions into the grounds and reasons of laws and governments, which they were then every where forming, gave them occasionally considerable insight into the manners, inclinations, and tempers of men, and into the natures and differences of human passions.

THIRDLY, Their serious warmth and concern for the affairs of religion prompted and raised their thoughts to more divine contemplations, gave them prospects of a future being, and at length put them upon many clear and distinct ideas of divine and supernatural objects. And as these three particulars, namely, Language, Laws, and Religion, have been the earliest and most applied to, as being of the most important consideration to mankind; so they have, among other advantages to the happiness of people, been the freshest and earliest grounds

grounds that gave growth and improvement to natural, moral, and metaphysical sciences.

Thus the growing race of mankind having no sooner sate themselves down in distinct settled nations—which Strabo, out of Ephorus, branches at first into these four, viz. Scythæ, Indi, Æthiopes, and Celtæ—but a set of men in each of these divisions, we may well imagine, put their heads to work, and began to cherish the seeds of knowledge; partly natural and latent in them, and partly acquired by oral tradition from the patriarchal *Cabala*; in the latter of which the antediluvian knowledge in all its branches was carefully preserved, and eminently flourished.

These men of thought and speculation, whose chief province was to enlarge the bounds of knowledge, as their fellows were to do those of empire, into what country or climate soever they came; as they were generally curious themselves in imposing names agreeable to the natures and properties of things and actions, so they themselves likewise came to be named and distinguished by others by appellations peculiarly agreeable to, and significative of, some most noted and remarkable circumstance of their public transactions and appearance.

On this account, I take it, the Indians called their great promoters of civility and humanity *Brachmans*, probably from a primitive word they might carry with them, *Barach*, to praise and celebrate. And no doubt the Æthiopians and Scythians gave to theirs also suitable appellatives at that time, though now forgotten. And thus it was that we the Celtæ came to call our first masters of knowledge Druids, from the Celtic word *Derw**, as it is generally thought; and that because these men seemed passionately fond of that tree, under which it is certain they frequently appeared in every solemn and public transaction.

It is indeed acknowledged on all hands, that the ancient druids had their name from *Derw*, whether from the Greek or Celtic, which differ not much in sound, is not material to enquire. But that their custom of celebrating the oak and using formed groves for their public ministrations and solemn performances, proceeded from the example and imitation of Abraham, doing the like under the oaks of Mamre, Gen. xviii. 1. though it be the general opinion, yet I shall take the liberty to differ from it, and to suppose farther, that both Abraham and they took up

* Oak.

this custom from a more ancient pattern, viz. the antediluvian practice. I have already hinted how the ancient heathens did many things relating to religion, according to, and agreeing with, the recorded customs of the primitive Jews; not that they took them up from those Jews by way of example and imitation, but as they both, as well those Jews as the ancient Gentiles, followed a more ancient copy, the *Mitzoth*, or sacred patriarchal rubric.

It is known that a tree was of very sacred use in Paradise. It was a tree, *Gopher*, which God peculiarly designed for the building of the ark. And on a tree the salvation of the world was to be accomplished. A tree therefore being thus celebrated by Almighty Providence, we may cease to admire that devout antiquity placed so much sacredness on it, as to make groves their first and most ancient temples and places of divine worship. And since it is uncertain of what species that tree was; which was so remarkably distinguished by Providence, we may as well take here the word of antiquity, and suppose that they pitched on the oak, paid their greatest veneration to it, and some of them, if the common sentiments be right, took their name and character from it, upon very prevailing reasons, now unknown to us.

The truth of all this is very apparent both in divine and human records, that the oak of all the trees in the world hath been of most special regard and veneration with devout antiquity in their sacred religious performances. Of which, to clear the way to the unfolding the grounds and reasons of the ancient druidical institution among us, I shall proceed on with the following instances.

FIRST, The sacred Scriptures assure us, that the first temples or local consecrations were groves of oak, under which God himself appeared, angels were entertained, covenants were formed, oblations and sacrifices offered. And whatever else belonged to the dignity of God's house, and to the sacredness of divine worship, under the patriarchal æconomy, were visible in groves and oak-holts. "And Abram (says Moses) passed through the land to the place of Sichem," ער אלון מורה *ad allon Moreh*, to the oaks or oak-grove of Moreh, "where the Lord appeared unto him, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land. And Abram builded there an altar unto the Lord," Gen. xii. 6.

Also we read, that "All the men of Sichem gathered together, and all the men of Millo, and went and made Abimelech king, by the oak of the pillar." Judges ix. 6. Nay, in that very place, and of that very pillar, the author of the book of Joshua says, that "Joshua took a great

great stone, and set it up there," that is, in Sichem under the oak, which was to be taken for the sanctuary of the Lord. Joshua xxiv. 26. On these luculent testimonies of divine Scriptures the learned Dickinson breaks out,

—*En primos sacerdotes quernos! en patriarchas druidas!*

Diatr. de Orig. Druid.

SECONDLY, That the heathens practised the same, in whose most celebrated authors we find *sacra Jovi quercus*, is evident beyond dispute. Nay, they were not only the British and Gaulish Druids who admired and venerated that prince of trees; but the heathens about Syria and Palestine retained also the same fondness to it. For when the apostatizing Jews forsook the law of their God Jehovah, and abandoned themselves to the idolatrous practices of their heathenish neighbours, what did they do? "They sacrificed (says the sacred text) upon the tops of mountains, and burnt incense upon hills, under oaks, and poplars, and elms." Hosea iv. 13. "Under every thick oak they did offer sweet sacrifice to all their idols." Ezek. vi. 13.

To reduce what has been said to the place and subject of my enquiry, I shall affirm from the foregoing evidence, that this prime celebration of oak-groves already mentioned, being of patriarchal, if not of divine institution; and our western Celtæ being so resolutely tenacious of it, and so zealously devoted to it, that their *Coryphæi*—their first and chiefest masters of knowledge, the Druids—took their distinction and character from it: The case I say being so, we may well conceive that these venerable religionists of the age (religion in its general idea being the chief concernment of mankind, and knowledge its rule and direction; to both which these religious Druids eminently laid claim and title) had charms enough in their skill and knowledge, in their address and conversation, to obtain to themselves the chief posts of management wherever they resided; and when obtained, to secure their credit and reputation; and thereupon to bear up a port and authority (no hard thing for them to do in that easy obsequious age) in order to maintain the chief stroke in the conduct of all public and private affairs among their fellow-citizens, wherever they happened to fix and settle.

Upon this bottom these insinuating priests, we may well imagine, soon wound up themselves to such a reputation and power as to be able to prescribe and give laws to others; and when they arrived to this

eminence, their next step was to provide for and establish themselves. And easily perceiving that the propagation of knowledge was best upheld and continued (they being no men of letters) by fixed and settled foundations and societies, they looked about, we may suppose, for the most commodious place to establish their model; and might quickly find and observe the Isle of Mona to surpass all other places in the British territories in those advantages they sought for. And when they found it out, their authority might soon prevail to get themselves possessed of it, and established in it.

The advantages they might chiefly seek for were to be of these two sorts: First, natural, such as were most agreeable and serviceable to the *designs*; and, secondly, political, such as best secured the *ends* of their intended establishment. And all these presented themselves eminently conspicuous in this corner of the land, the Isle of Mona, now called Anglesey.

FIRST, Its natural appearance and prospect might well enough endear to them the choice of it for their seat and habitation. It was an island, and therefore fittest of any place (as being more solitary and less incommoded with the affrightments of war and tumults) to give first suck to the infant muses; and to afford the earliest strokes and lineaments to the growth of knowledge. It was a pleasant island; and every thing, as the quality of the soil and temperature of its air incline us to suppose, was in the flower and vigor of nature. It breathed a chearful quickening air. It was a more plain and level country than any of its neighbouring regions, and yet variegated into a pleasing diversity of hills and vallies. It was plentifully purlled with springs, and sprinkled with rivulets. It had a benign enlivening sun, a pregnant fruitful soil; enriched on all sides with the bounties of the sea; and adorned with the wealth and beauties of the land. And above all (as the nature of the soil makes us believe also) they found it stored with many spacious groves of their admired and beloved oak. In short, whatever contributed to maintain the body in a sound athletic state; to enliven the soul in her briskest operations; or to inform her with variety of objects, was not wanting here, Nature having made (it seems) this little place the model, as it were, of the great isle of Britain. Whatever she has delineated there in greater draughts, her pencil has epitomized, has contracted here *in parvo*. There is nothing hardly in the work of nature to be found in the great isle of Britain, but may be sampled, as near as nature can admit, with something

thing of the kind, even in her greatest scope of varieties, within the Isle of Mona.

SECONDLY, A political consideration likewise of the advantages of its site and position, we may well suppose, did no less oblige these men of thought and retirement, and in a manner force them to that choice, than those last-mentioned beauties of nature might allure them to it. The advantages were these:

First, it was an island defended by the sea on every side, and therefore best fortified and secured against the alarms and occurrences of prevailing aggressors, at that time frequent in inland countries: Those passions as yet crawling on land, having not then learned to swim on the seas. And though it was divided from the continent by an arm of the sea, able to safeguard them from all approaches of danger; yet they were near enough to it to receive their friends, or communicate with them any hour in the year.

Secondly, it was of a just proportion and latitude within itself, suitable to the ends intended, that is, solitude and safety. It was not too big and of too large an extent, where it might nourish parties and factions, which might endanger its repose and tranquillity. It was not too small and scanty, to enfeeble and starve itself; but was, as I said, of a just bigness and proportion, to support and maintain itself in plight and vigour, in safety and security from all accidents, and particularly fitted to have its rule and government moulded to a sort of monastic œconomy, which these druids were now introducing. These specious advantages both of quality and situation, so fortunately consociating and sorting with the designs and genius of these men, might probably, by the eulogies abroad of it, give the first hints to antiquity of bolting their hyperboles of Elysian Fields and Fortunate Islands.

Having set down the grounds and reasons of the origin and institution of these heathenish priests, and of their establishment in the Isle of Mona, before I proceed to account for their philosophy and discipline, and other particulars of their establishments, there is one objection which I am obliged to remove. It is this.

Although the hypothesis of the original of druidism, and of their choice of the Isle of Mona for their principal seat and habitation, as here asserted; may be granted to be coherent and rational; yet as to reality of existence and truth of fact, the whole may be a *nunquam constans*, a mere chimera—unless proper proofs can be produced to evince

the historical certainty of it, at least of the latter part of it ; that is, of their fixing and establishing themselves in this island ; which is all that is requisite in this matter. That point, therefore, I shall endeavour to prove by these evidences ; First, by ancient uncontradicted traditions ; Secondly, by the testimony of unexceptionable authors ; and, Thirdly, by certain marks and footsteps of antiquity to this day extant in many places. These three sorts of evidence concurring together, and being fairly established, encourage me to hope that I shall take away the force of this objection with unprejudiced men ; whom I desire to take it *here* for granted, that there were such persons, and that they chose (on what grounds and motives it is no great matter) their chief seat and residence in this Isle of Mona or Anglesey.

Referring therefore our assurance of the thing to what will in the next section appear on the proofs of fact and evidence, I may here with better warrant proceed to some other circumstantial considerations of the point in hand. And, First, I shall give some previous hints of these religious persons' first steps in the progress of their improvements in the way of knowledge ; and then proceed, Secondly, to observe and account for their philosophy and discipline ; Thirdly, for their distinct orders and societies ; Fourthly, for their authority and power ; and, Fifthly, for their sacred things and places. In some of which particulars, namely, in their philosophy and morality, we may observe these religious Druids to have signalized themselves, in that great and solemn work of raising and improving the faculties of mankind, and of advancing and suiting to proper ends all the parts of true, solid, and instructive knowledge, in these western parts of Europe ; not only before others, but also above and beyond the then ordinary means and measures. And here let no one despise, and think the accounting for the affairs and transactions of these men, to be vain and frivolous, who have in their time deserved so well of the world, and whose characters and actions were esteemed worthy to be recorded and transmitted to our hands, even by the greatest of ancient authors.

FIRST, therefore, we are to conceive, according to the hypothesis already laid down, that the first step in the improvement of human faculties, and the application of them, in the way of knowledge and practice, to useful and instructive ends and purposes, was in this western part of the world begun and set on by a few thoughtful persons here and there ; who afterwards, consociating and assembling together, proceeded to settle principles, and to form their little platforms and institutions, in a

verbal

verbal discursive way; to which they ever after cleaved, neglecting the use of *letters*, as an innovation inconsistent with their more ancient establishments. And this may be one argument of the seniority of this learned sect to all those other people, who have set up by the help of letters; beyond which, excepting the ancient Druids, I think there are few pretenders.

Although they made no use of books, yet by what we read of them, we find that their schemes extended to all the useful parts of learning; which they couched under apt significant words, and deposited in rhythmical compositions with a peculiar class of their society, whom they call *Beirdd* (from the original word * *Pared*, to divide and distinguish) that is, men separated and distinguished from the rest, for their extraordinary talent of memory, to that peculiar work—† *Côf-weitbie* or *Côf-wyddde*—of recording and reciting on occasions the various theorems and explications of their whole system of knowledge.

Plurima securi fuditis carmina bardî. Lucan. *Pharsal.* lib. i. 449.

SECONDLY, The delivered and taught philosophy and learning of this druidical sect seemed, in the general air of it, to be mostly symbolical and enigmatical, especially the moral part of it; agreeing in that with the traditional Cabala of the Jews. In imitation of which the most ancient things among the heathen philosophers have been shrouded in veils and obscurities. *Καὶ φασι τοὺς Δρυΐδας ἀινιγματῶς ὥς ἀποφθεγομένους φιλοσοφῆσαι*, says Diogenes Laertius of these Druids, “ They affirm that they taught obscurely and enigmatically their points of philosophy.” From hence it is likely other sects and parties, as Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* 5) observes, usually couched the gravest parts of their learning ἐν συμβόλοις, under these involutions and shadows: which Pythagoras afterwards advanced to the highest improvement that way; from whom the imitating Greeks took it into vogue, and amused the world with their mythologies and riddles.

But in particular, as to the parts and divisions of that philosophy, it was, as others generally are, either an exposition or a regulation of nature; that is, it was chiefly aimed and directed either to the unfolding the abstrusities of her phænomena, or to the regulating the obliquities and disorders of her operations. The first being speculative, and

* *Pared*, a Wall or Separation, we retain still in our tongue.

† *Côfwaib* or *Cowydd*.

properly philosophy; the other practical, and properly discipline. Of which in their order.

FIRST, Of their philosophy properly so called. They seemed, if we credit antiquity, to have taken a full draught of the theory of nature, according to the gauge of that time. They made quick researches into her principles and operations. *Eos præter naturalem etiam moralem exercuisse philosophiam*, says Strabo; “ Besides the natural, as if that had been their chief province, they professed also moral philosophy.”

But in the management of the natural, whether the principles on which they generally explicated things were corpuscularian, or complex and elemental, I cannot determine; but am inclined to believe them to have been the former, as more agreeable to the Sidonian philosophy, which was plainly atomical; and with which our celebrated Druids, on account of our most ancient commerce and traffic with the Phœnicians, must have had no small acquaintance and communication.

They deeply considered nature, in her largest extent, in her systems, in her motions, in her magnitudes and powers. In all which they seemed to cabalize; for Cæsar, who best knew them, gives us this account of them—*Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum naturâ disputant*. “ They dispute much of the stars and their motions, of the magnitude of the world, and of the parts thereof, and of the nature of things.” *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. sect. 13. To the same purpose Pomponius Mela, lib. iii. cap. 2. speaks of their acute discourses of the system of the world, and of their deep insight into natural causes; to which he adds geography, as Pliny, lib. iii. cap. 1. does magic and medicine. All which were acquisitions very necessary to uphold the dignity and power which these Druids had obtained over the people through a great part of Europe.

Now their philosophy being so comprehensive as to take in, with the theory of nature, astronomy, geometry, medicine, and natural magic; and all this upon the corpuscularian hypothesis, as it may seem very probable from their ancient frequent commerce, by means of the Tyrian and Sidonian traders, with the Phœnician philosophy—particularly with the placits of Mochus the Sidonian, whom our learned Selden takes to be Moses. I say, besides these noble parts of natural knowledge, their metaphysics likewise made strong flights, partly on the strength of their own ratiocination, as in the unity of the deity, the immortality of the soul of man, and other consequent dog-

mata; and partly also from Cabalistic traditions, as in that of the conflagration of the world, the pre-existence of souls, and transmigration of them from one vehicle to another, the propitiation of sacrifices, and many more particulars of that sort, which they strongly professed and taught; though indeed as to that one, of the unity of the god-head, the stream of idolatry towards the latter end of their time bore strong upon them, and deflected them from their professed Monotheism, to give divine worship to Medioximate gods: to *Taranis*, or Jupiter; *Hefus*, or Mars; *Belus*, *Belatucadrus*, i. e. *Bely duw Cadarn*; *Teutates*; *Belin*, i. e. *Ap beulin*, or Apollo; *Diana*, and *Andrastes*, or *Victoria*, i. e. *Duwies yr Anrbaitb*; and some say that Mercury, who likely was this *Teutates* or *Duw-taitb*, the great conductor of travels and expeditions, was of chief respect among them. But these errors crept late among them, or they worshipped the one God under these several titles and appellations.

That these eminent parts of philosophy, both natural and metaphysical, acquired, as I said, by the early acquaintance they had with the Phœnician learning, flourished for some time among our ancient Druids, we may well take for granted on the word of those excellent authors I have now mentioned. But of what sort their notions and explications of things were, though among us all remains and footsteps of them are quite lost and perished, yet we have much to guess; and it should seem that they were the same or very near a-kin with what Pythagoras Sometime after, about the sixtieth Olympiad, fetched also from the disciples of the said Mochus (as Jamblichus affirms in the life of Pythagoras) and left recorded in his Italic school; or at least the said Pythagoras might well have borrowed the chief points of his philosophy from his nearer neighbours, the Gaulish Druids, who had had them before from Phœnicia, and conveyed them that way to Italy. And what it was that made up the greatest part of the philosophy of Pythagoras, besides what we have recorded and preserved to us by his own scholars, Democritus and Leucippus of old, Galileo and Gassendus of late, have sufficiently taught us.

SECONDLY, As to the discipline of these Druids, or that practical part of their philosophy which referred to and concerned either their own establishment and society, or the people over whom they presided and governed; I find it chiefly consisted of, and exerted itself in, these three particulars: First, in the conduct and management of themselves; Secondly, in acts of public decisions and judicature; and, Thirdly,

Thirdly, in the solemn rites and performances of religion. Which brings me to the third observation proposed, that is, their orders and societies.

FIRST, then, as to the regulation of themselves, and the prime establishment of their societies and orders; their politics seem to have been very cautious and extremely provident in the uniform plot and model of their constitution. They submitted themselves to one, whom they were implicitly to obey, and to be solely guided by, in the weightiest conduct of affairs. And then they divided their whole body into distinct classes and fraternities, suited and proportioned to the several parts and employments of their function and office. And in matter of œconomy and classical regiment, they were sorted in an agreeable subordination and dependance of one order and society upon another, and of all upon one chief or metropolitan, if I may so call him.

This chief or head Druid had a supreme metropolitical power, not only over their own collegiate societies, but also over the separate communities and governments of people through the whole nation, as Cæsar expressly affirms: *His omnibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem*. "Over all these," meaning the whole order of them, "there is one supreme head and governor, to whose jurisdiction and authority they were to pay obedience and submission, in all matters relating to their cognizance," &c. And that all people did yearly bring their appeals from all places of the land to his tribunal or court of audience in Gallia, as their *dernier resort*, their last plea of justice, Cæsar is express: *Considunt certo anni tempore in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt; eorumque judiciis decretisque parent*. i. e. "These high pontiffs with their assessors, the heads and presidents probably of their inferior orders, met yearly in a certain consecrated place; at whose tribunal all that have any private suits or controversies make their last appeals, and stand for ever obliged to submit to their decrees and sentence."

This indeed Cæsar speaks of, as it was practised in Gallia in his time; but withal he says before, that their discipline, of which this practice was a main part, came into Gallia from Britain. And since he affirms it came from Britain, we may very well conclude, that the same course and method as was used in Gallia was also practised in the British isle; and that the place of their supreme judicature (as I shall in the next section endeavour to make appear) was in this Isle of Mona or Anglesey.



The Chief Druid.

J. Taylor sculp.

That head Druid, for the eminency of his place and the singularity of his office, was called *Drew*, that is, The Druid. He was, when dead, presently succeeded by another; who mounted into that dignity, either by his singular virtue and merit, or, if on account of equality a competition arose, by the suffrage and election of the inferior orders. *Hoc mortuo*, says Cæsar, meaning the chief Druid, *si quis ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit; at si sunt plures pares, suffragio druidum adlegitur*. i. e. "When the præsulary dignity becomes vacant by the head Druid's death, the next in dignity and reputation succeeds; but when there are equals in competition, election carries it." In these elections sometimes such heats and broils, and interest of parties, raged among them, that wars and bloodshed have often concluded the contest.

The inferior orders were, as before is intimated, distinguished among themselves into different classes and fraternities; which, as Strabo reckons*, were three; that is, *Δρῦδαί*, *Drudau* or *Druidion*; *Ουαῖν*, *Offwyrr* or *Offyddion*; and *Βαρδοί*, *Beirdd*. Ammianus Marcellinus gives the same reckoning†. *Per hæc loca hominibus paulatim excultis, viguere studia laudibilium doctrinarum, inchoata per Bardos, & Eubages, & Draidas*. i. e. "In these places, among the rude unpolished people grew up the knowledge of arts and sciences, begun and set up by Bards, Euvates, and Druids." Then he proceeds to account for these three orders, as Strabo had done before him.

Diodorus Siculus and Cicero mention another order of them, called Sarronides. But Bochart and other critics have already cleared that point, by shewing that Druids and Sarronides, being Greek *synonima*, were taken by antiquity to express one and the same thing. Of these, says Strabo, the *Bardi* were singers; the *Ouvates*, priests and physiologists; and the *Druids*, to physiology added ethics and moral learning. And Ammianus Marcellinus gives much the same character of them‡. *Bardi quidem sortia virorum illustrium facta, heroicis composita versibus, cum dulcibus lyraë modulis cantitabant; Eubages vero scrutantes seriem, & sublimia naturæ pandere conabantur. Inter hos Druidæ ingenii celsiores, ut auctoritas Pythagoræ decrevit, sodaliciis astricti consortiis, questionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti sunt, & despectantes humana pronuntiabant animas immortales*. That is, "The Bards sung in well-made compositions, on their harps, the heroic acts of men; the Euvates or

* Geogr. lib. iv.

† Lib. xv.

‡ Loc. citato.

Eubates, more deeply considering nature, made attempts to discover her highest arcana, and most secret workings : And among these the Druids, men of more polished parts, by the rules of Pythagoras, affecting formed societies, gave themselves wholly to the contemplation of divine and hidden things, and despising all worldly enjoyments, confidently affirmed the souls of men to be immortal." In short, by all these evidences we may collect, and warrantably say, that their Bards were their singers and recorders of things ; for in songs and metrical compositions they treasured up all their knowledge of things and persons ; that the Eubates were their priests and physiologers ; and that the Druids were their most profound theologers and interpreters of their laws, and judges in all capital matters. On which account the Druids being more taken notice of by strangers, and being perhaps men of more general converse and negotiation towards their latter days than the other orders, all the orders of them came to be generally called by the name of Druids.

SECONDLY, Their practical learning in reference to others consisted chiefly in acts of judicature and public decisions ; towards which they seem to have been well studied in the rules and proportions of justice and equity, and sufficiently informed of the nature of right and wrong. Hereby the Druids, their civilians and casuists, maintained great sway, and commanded infinite respect and observance in every province they came into ; and wherein they had their separate precincts and allotments, with peculiar powers and jurisdictions to exercise the authority of their function.

The extent of their authority and jurisdiction, as to exercise and administration, inasmuch as it reached to all places of the nation ; so as to cognizance and power, it took up almost every case and circumstance whether civil or criminal. *Nam ferè de omnibus controversiis, says their great conqueror *, publicis privatisque, constituunt : & si quod est admissum facinus ; si cædes facta ; si de hæreditate, si de finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt. Præmia pœnasque constituunt. i. e.* " They determine in almost all controversies, both public and private ; and if any great crime be perpetrated, if any murder or manslaughter be committed, if any quarrels arise about bounds of land and inheritances, these Druids give judgment in the matter, and decree rewards and punishments, as the case deserves."

* Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. ubi supra.

Now though this decretorial power extended even to life and death, yet the execution of it (they being a sort of ecclesiastics) was, for all I can find, wholly transferred to the secular power of the city or province they belonged to. The same likewise I conceive of their decreeing rewards and punishments being merely declarative, pronouncing juridically who were fit, how far, and perhaps in what manner, to be rewarded or punished. Yet one thing there was that struck a general terror, with which they might awe and over-rule their laics to almost any thing they pleased; and that was what these Druids took the greatest care and pains to inculcate on the people, viz. the peoples' indispensable obligation to the necessary rites and duties of oblations and sacrifice, together with their own indisputable power of designing and appointing what persons or things they pleased for the cruel victims and immolations of their altars—making them believe, as Cæsar says *, *Quòd pro vitâ hominis, nisi vitâ hominis redditur, non posse deorum immortalium numen placari*. i. e. “That for the life of a man, nothing but the death of another man, offered a sacrifice on their altars, could appease the wrathful immortal gods, and make due atonement for the evil committed, or the punishment threatened.”

This, indeed, was their great engine to put the abused people into what posture they pleased; and was the chief prop of their authority, which it seems they kept up here to the very last. And on which depended their other machine of terror among the inferior laity, which was their anathemas and excommunications. With this they quickly dissipated all contempts and disobediences. And in that opinion, which they had industriously cultivated in the vulgar, of their indispensable necessity of sacrificing and of frequently attending the solemnities of their altars, there was no greater and more dreadful stroke, except death itself, that could be inflicted on a poor mortal, than to be interdicted and excommunicated from the rights and privileges of sacrifice.

And as the first, viz. the general awe which they carried over all sorts of persons, from their being able to appoint and order whom they would to the slaughter, gave them the great authority of commanding; so this latter, viz. the power of interdicting and excommunicating, secured them the speedy and effectual execution of whatever they commanded. *Siquis aut publicus aut privatus*, says Cæsar, *eorum decreto*

* Loc. citato.

non steterit sacrificiis interdiciunt; hæc pœna apud eos gravissima; quibus ita interdictum est, si numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur; ab iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt. "This is their greatest punishment upon those who refuse to submit to the Druids decrees and sentence, to debar them the use and solemnities of sacrifice. And those who are so interdicted are accounted the most wicked and profligate of all people, to be shunned and eschewed by all honest men." Nay, to shew the farther congruity of this scheme with future methods, or what came to be afterward practised in the true Christian hierarchy—*Neque eis penitentibus jus redditur, neque bonos ullus communicatur*, says Cæsar of them who were excluded and anathematized for their contempt and delinquency, and debarred the common rights and privileges of religion. They were not only vile and abominable in the account of all men, but also, while they continued interdicted, were as out-lawed wretches, excluded and rendered incapable of all benefit of law; no place of trust or honour was ever to be conferred upon them. Thus we may observe the guilt of contempt and disobedience to just authority. As it was in all the dispensations of the true religion, so in the eye of nature itself it has ever been reckoned the foulest and most unaffordable crime, and consequently branded with the most odious marks of both divine and human indignation.

THIRDLY, Of the Druids discipline, in relation to acts and exercises of religion, I shall only touch, as I did in the rest, on what is most obvious and remarkable. That they had times and places sacred and separated to holy uses, it is natural to think: but what precise determined portions of time those were, no author mentions. It is probable they had * one day in seven, as the generality of mankind had, appointed and set apart for divine worship; and that that was, as in most other nations, the day of the sun, it is as probable. What other festivals or anniversary solemnities they had, we know not. Yet it is not unlikely, but that they had set times and peculiar celebrations of their deified heroes.

As for their set and appropriated places, we are sufficiently told that they were groves of oak. *Jam per se roborum eligunt lucos; neque ulla sacra sine eâ fronde conficiunt*, says Pliny † of these Druids: i. e. "They dress and cultivate groves of oak; for without that tree, or those groves,

* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3. where he vouches the authorities of Hesiod, Homer, Callimachus, and others, for the sacred observation of the seventh day, as a general practice.

† Hist. Nat. lib. xvi, cap. 44, sub fin.

they

they never celebrate any part of their sacred functions." They placed a very high mystery in the mistletoe of that tree, the *Pren-Awyr* as they call it still in some parts of Wales; which they ever-cut down in great solemnity with a consecrated golden instrument; received it on their *sagum* or white garment, and preserved it as Jove's greatest gift, with the highest veneration and worship.

Ad viscum druidæ, druidæ cantare solebant.

They had these groves, one may conjecture, in many places of the country; which they called *Llwyn*, probably enough from the original word *Allun*. Thence I take it that *Llan* had its denomination, which Christianity retained, and the Christians applied to their own consecrated places and public oratories. These groves were great septs and enclosures of tall and spreading oak, ever surrounding their most sacred places. And from that ancient notion of *Llan* or *Llwyn*, as betokening a fence and enclosure, I take the compound words, *Per-llan*, *Gwin-llan*, *Yd-llan*, *Cor-llan*, and *Glyn* or *Glan*, a valley enclosed with wood, to have been originally denominated.

In these groves they had their sacred erections and apartments; that is, either their mounts and hillocks, which they called *Gorseddau*, from their sitting aloft upon them when they pronounced their decrees and sentences, and made their solemn orations to the people. *Multa de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant, & juventuti tradunt*, says Cæsar of them. i. e. "They discourse much of the power and perfections of the immortal gods, which they preach to the younger people." Or they had in these groves their erected pillars and idols, to which some think they attributed divine honours, as the memorials of their deified heroes. Or they had in them their heaps or *Carnedde*, on which they had a peculiar mode of worship by throwing and heaping of stones. Or they had their altars or *Cromleche*, on which they performed the solemnities of sacrifice, and their sacred rites of aruspicy and divination. Or, lastly, in some larger and more eminent groves they had many of these together, as pillars and heaps of stones were commonly within one grove and enclosure; for to this day they stand so close together in many places, that I cannot suppose them to have had different enclosures. And in one remarkable place, where I presume one of these great groves to have been, there are the remains of all these, except a *Cromleche*, together on one small spot of ground; where in all probability they were comprehended within the verge of one great grove, which I shall

shall mention in its proper place; the marks of those erections being still extant there, though the trees enclosing them have been gone away these many ages.

Now granting these mounts, pillars, heaps, and altars to have been so engroved about and shaded as I have conjectured, the particular uses of them, for all that, must be very difficult to determine. Yet that all these, whose remains are to this day among us, are monuments of Druidism, peculiarly adapted to the particular rites and ceremonies of their religion and worship, will I think by very few be denied. For certainly some things these celebrated religionists had of a standing composition and erection for the ministration of their function and service of their religion; and what they were I would fain be informed, if they were not these. Altars we are sure they had; and considering the unbounded zeal and fervency which people generally had to immolations and sacrifices, these altars must be also very numerous. And therefore one may be inclined to believe, that besides the *Cromleche*, these heaps and columns must have had also their groves about them: for without these there were no sacred ceremonies, as Pliny assures us. And so we may suppose that these groves wanted not their *aræ* or smaller altars, to which people resorted with their trivial oblations. However that was, it is certain that some flattish stones like altars are usually found lying not far from these heaps and columns.

Thus I conceive this ancient famous sect of philosophers, politicians, and divines, came to fix their metropolitical seat and chief seminary in the Isle of Mona; and from thence to plant and establish their hierarchy through the whole British nation. These men having formed and perfected their system, partly on their own stock of knowledge originally conveyed here with the first planters, and partly, as I said before, by their early intercourse with the people of the East, continued sole masters of the isle of Mona, and of her sister the isle of Man; both which, as is very probable, they held in demesne, and governed by a sort of monastic polity, till they came to be diseised of them and outed by the conquering Romans.

In all that long space of time, from their first establishment to their expulsion, we may reasonably imagine, these learned persons maintained their authority at home and their reputation abroad in considerable lustre and eminence; every community and government of the whole nation being, it seems, constantly supplied, for their information of knowledge, and their necessary ministration of laws and religion, with a new set of
these

these Druids, from this pregnant nursery the Isle of Mona, as their old ones died. Which indeed might quickly give her the appellation of a Mother; as we see now Canterbury has in respect of her suffragan dioceses, and other places have in regard to their respective sons and votaries. She was therefore very anciently called *Môn Mam Gymru*, * *Cwm-bre*, i. e. *Regio Vallicosa*; or *Cyn-bre*, i. e. *Regio Primaria*, being a word then of larger extent than it is now; though in after ages I confess, as Giraldus Cambrensis observes, this island came to enjoy that title, and well deserve it, from the great provision of corn it yielded, and the plenty of other things it afforded.

Now under these extraordinary advantages of foreign correspondencies and domestic encouragements, no wonder if this wary sect grew up to that great respect and reputation in the opinion of all their neighbours, (nor, by the way, were the fortunate arms of the valiant Brennus any of the least helps to enlarge their fame) that many of those foreign neighbours seem to have taken some of their schemes and modes of worship from these Druids; as may be somewhat perceived in the accounts which Cornelius Tacitus and other authors give of the religion of some of the northern nations. Nay, it is certain the Pythagoreans agreed with them in many things, not only in point of doctrine, but also in matters of ceremony and practice; as hath been observed by many authors, both ancient and modern. Which it is not to be doubted, they had from the Druids, and not the Druids from them; because these Druids were their seniors in time, if not of a higher class in learning. And it is allowed, that the propagation of instituted knowledge is always—*ab antiquioribus*—derived from the more ancient. And besides that, Pythagorism was but the profession of a petty school in Italy, when the Druidish doctrine was entertained and celebrated over a great part of Europe.

I shall here, before I close this section, subjoin a passage relating to this affair, which I lately met with in an anonymous author; who would fain make Anglesey, with her sister the isle of Man, to have been those two Fortunate Islands so much talked of by the ancients. His words are these:

“ The two Fortunate Islands, so much talked of and celebrated by the ancient poets, have been for many ages last past utterly lost and not

* There are vallies among the Helvetic alps called *Cooms* to this day. The Latin *Campus* seems to be derived from it. There is also a high hill in Cumberland which retains the name of *Black-Coom*, probably from the black valley below it.

to be discovered. Among many supposals let us add some. They were two, and so are these: they went both by one general name, and so did these; being called *Monæ*, that is, the one *Môn*, the other *Manaw*; the one the bigger, the other the lesser; the one the nearer, the other the more remote.

“ The ancient philosophers and poets were great celebrators of virtue, and thereupon for encouragement of men did affirm there was a place of pleasure or rest, whereto after this life they were carried who had lived regularly; and that place was sometimes called the Elysian Fields, as at other times the Fortunate Islands.

“ They did farther fancy, that though there were other delights, yet above all, the pleasure of converse with the just, and a relaxation from care, was most valuable; they might therefore conceit the better of these islands above other places, because of the strict life of the Druids, a religious people here dwelling, sequestered from the cares of the world, and doubtless of a great name and virtue, at their first sitting down.

“ Their name *Monæ* imports also a solitary place, as monastical among the religious has the like signification from the Greek language. The two Fortunate Islands were, in the judgment of the best writers, generally, by the report of Natalis Comes, a noted mythologist, seated upon the western coast of Britain; they were in the Atlantic Ocean by common consent; and these are there also; for in ancient time that tract of sea lying beyond the coast of Africa and Europe to the West, was called from the mountain Atlas (probable enough) the Atlantic seas; the streights thereby being the outlet of them to the Grecian and Roman countries, who successively lorded it over this part of the world.

“ The Elysian Fields or Fortunate Islands were said to be full of shades; the Druids here nourished many woods to perform their superstitious rites in; Anglesey was called *Tyns Dowyll**, a dark and shadowy island, from the wood there growing; the Greek and Latin poets anciently reckoned the North their right hand, and the South their left, from their way of looking to the West, towards the Elysian Fields. More might be said (says the author) to this purpose, which I omit. I will add in the close the opinion of some few of note: Homer thought they were on the coasts of Britain; Isacius Tzetzes, a Greek author of account in Camden’s opinion, reports they were with the Britons: and the story of Plutarch, in the life of Sertorius, I will repeat, which methinks is not distant from what we are now speaking of.

* *Tyns Dowyll*.

"Sertorius, upon his retreat out of Spain, was forced to take the sea; and being there in little quiet also, not allowed to land peaceably on the Spanish or African coasts, he being then in the Mediterranean, at last he passed the Streights of Gibraltar, and turning on the right towards the Spanish shore again, he met with divers sailors, who were coming from the Fortunate Islands, seated not far one from another, about ten thousand furlongs from the coast of Africa. Sertorius hearing thereof, was so taken with a resolution of going to live there retired from the wars, that had not the pirates of Cilicia forsaken him, upon hearing of these his determinations, it is likely he had attempted to go there. Now these islands are much about the same distance; and if they be not these, I will give over my enquiry with Dr. Heylin, who having searched diligently for them in all remarkable places of the world, seems at last to leave his hopes in the plain fields, as out of expectation to find out where they are; for I think not of any such probable two, on our coasts, where it was in ancient time strongly reported they were, if they be not these." So far the said author in his book entitled, *Historiæ Britannicæ Fragmentum*.

Now to reflect in a word or two on the probability of these arguments. It is indeed, as bishop Stillfleet retorts on Olaus Rudbeck's Atlantis, some degree of inhumanity not to suffer any one to think best of, and even to magnify if he please his own native country, whatever it be. Yet when the arguments one produces are of weight, let him be of what country he will, their due respect and deference ought to be paid them. I easily foresee what objections are at hand to this gentleman's opinion. Alas! they'll say, are not these islands too coarse a place, too bleak, cold, and rugged to be those sweet delicious habitations? I answer, perhaps indeed they are so; and that those Elysian Fields and Fortunate Islands might be somewhere else, if they ever had any other existence than in the poets' fancies. But to prosecute the objection a little farther—Let such as would insist on it consider, that at those early times, when those notions were cherished, the face of the earth had no greater paint and varnish on it in one place than another; appearing then, as well in those countries where that opinion reigned, as in these countries which are not now to be compared to them, in its own native dress and simplicity. And in that condition and circumstance I would fain ask any one who understands the climates of the globe, whether the fancies of the people of those hotter coun-

tries, who were frequently annoyed with the sun's scorching visits, were not more elevated, and their affections and senses touched with a greater goût and relish of pleasure, at the representation of a country more cool and breezy, and yet warm enough, than of any other equally hot or hotter regions, however garnished and pleasantly situated. In a word, whether a country by nature removed from the noise and tumults of the world, equally free from the annoyances of heat and cold, furnished with all the necessaries of life, full of delicious groves, pleasant shades, bubbling springs—Their woods resounding with nature's musick; curiously cut into various forms, into theatres and temples—Here running out into pleasant walks, and there extended in shady vista's and apartments—And above all, a company of divinely inspired souls, walking and meditating *here*, abounding with instructive documents of virtue and profound discoveries of nature—I say, whether a country thus advantaged and qualified, being represented to the genius of a studious Greek or Phœnician, would not with him complete the idea of a wished Elysium? And this island being, at that time, under the culture of these learned thoughtful Druids, in all probability such, I shall leave the answer to assail the objection; and shall now from this hint out of Plutarch proceed to relate another that comes more to the purpose.

This learned Greek in his Tract of “The Cessation of Oracles,” speaking of the Genii or those gods of the Gentiles, whom they pretended to have informed and actuated those idols by whom, before the incarnation of Christ, these oracles were delivered, gives us a story of a certain person, sent with some ships by the Roman * emperor, who by probable circumstances seems to have been Claudius, with directions to discover the western coasts of Britain. The relation Plutarch gives of that expedition is this:

“There are many islands which lie scattered about the isle of Britain after the manner of our Sporades. They are generally unpeopled,

* Though I have referred this discovery by Demetrius of the western isles of Britain to the emperor Claudius, because soon after the isle of Mona came to be possessed by the Romans; and a little after that, the other western isles were thoroughly discovered by the Roman fleet under Julius Agricola; so that there was no need of another in the time of Adrian the emperor, to whom some would ascribe this action. Yet I find that Tacitus says in the life of Agricola, that Caligula had entertained a design to attack Britain, and to that end it is not unlikely but that he sent this Demetrius on that expedition, and that he returned not to Rome with the account of his voyage till the beginning of Claudius's reign, who performed that design in person, and settled colonies in the southern parts of the island.

and some of them are called the * Islands of the Heroes. One Demetrius was sent by the emperor to discover those parts, and arriving at one of the islands, next adjoining to the isle of Britain before-mentioned, he found it inhabited by some few Britons, but those held *sacred* and *inviolable* by all their countrymen. Immediately after his arrival the air grew black and troubled, and strange apparitions were seen: the winds raised a tempest, and fiery spouts and whirlwinds appeared dancing towards the earth. When these prodigies ceased, the islanders informed him, that some one of the aerial gods or Genii, superior to our nature, then ceased to live. For as a taper while burning (says Plutarch) affords a pleasant harmless light, but is noisome and offensive when extinguished; so those heroes shine benignly upon us and do us good, but at their death they turn all things topsy-turvy, raise up tempests, and infect the air with pestilential vapours."

This story, though the learned Camden took it to be fabulous, is very remarkable; and if the author had but named the island, it would be the earliest account, excepting one that will just now follow, that has to any purpose been made of it. But though he named it not, yet any one may see that the description which Demetrius gave of that inhabited island he had entered into, does, next naming it, abundantly satisfy any impartial man, that it was this very Isle of Mona.

For, FIRST, his discovering it in the time of Claudius (for before then Plutarch came not to Rome to be in a way to have this intelligence) shews it was one of our western islands; the southern and eastern isles having been discovered by other emperors some years before; and its being *inhabited*, when he found other of those islands unpeopled, as many of the lesser ones then undoubtedly were, shews also that it was an isle of some extent: and his describing the situation of it, as nearest to the continent of Britain, confirms the more its being the Isle of Mona; for there is no other isle I know of but this, that comes so properly under that circumstance.

SECONDLY, The inhabitants of it, he says, were but few. Perhaps most of the priests were abroad in the provinces, exercising their functions in their particular districts, which these Druids were wont to do, as I have shewed before. But such as were at home in the island, he expressly says, were by all the people held *sacred* and their persons *in-*

* *Ynys y Cedyrn*, as this was anciently called; and on that account probably Tacitus gives it the character of *Insula Incelsis valida*. Annal. lib. xiv.

violable. This character goes as far as any one can wish to prove the inhabitants of the isle he mentions to have been the religious Druids; and that they were among the people of that great respect and authority, as we find indeed those men were, that none durst in the least molest or control them.

THIRDLY, He gives account of a discourse he had with some of those holy men about the cause of unusual storms and tempests, upon the occasion of a very prodigious one that happened when he was among them. These men account not for it from natural causes, it being looked upon by them as a prodigy of a very remarkable and unusual appearance; and therefore they determine of it in a supernatural way, agreeable to the principles of that set of men; who, as appears in the last section, generally entertained the Pythagorean hypothesis, and the ancient theology of the Phœnicians and Egyptians; whose opinion of the mortality of the Genii, or aerial demons, shifting from one vehicle to another, which they reckon to be the dying of these inferior gods, is very well known*. And these men giving a specimen of their knowledge that way intimates, that they were these religious Druids which the person mentioned conversed with in that island. So that upon the whole it may be, I presume, well concluded, that those two relations from Plutarch fairly hint at this Isle of Mona and its religious Druids; and that he is only wanting in not naming it. But since he does not name it, I shall lay no great stress upon it, but take it as a collateral evidence to support other more express testimonies; which I suppose will be of force to make it appear, that this Isle of Mona was the prime seat and chief residence of the celebrated ancient Druids.

There is another account in Diodorus Siculus † out of Hecatæus, of a northern island of considerable bigness, little less than Sicily, situated over-against the Celtæ, (which I shall mention here only on the score of probability) inhabited by the Hyperboreans; which name the Greeks at first gave to all the northern nations. He describes it as a fruitful pleasant isle, dedicated to Apollo; and that most of the inhabitants of it were priests and songsters. They had in it a large grove and a temple of a round form, to which these priests frequently resorted with their harps, to chant and celebrate the praises of, and to sing hymns to, Apollo their great deity. He says, they had a language of their

* See Dr. Henry More's Immortality of the Soul, lib. iii. cap. 4. §. † Lib. iii. cap. ii.

own; and that some Greeks had been in it, and presented valuable gifts to their temple, with Greek inscriptions on them; and that one Abaris* came from them to Greece, and contracted friendship with the Delians. He adds, that for the space of nineteen years their god Apollo used to come and converse with them: And which is the more remarkable, they could, as if they had the use of telescopes, shew the moon very near them; and discover therein mountains and heaps of rocks, which that instrument alone can do. Then he concludes, that over their sacred town and temple there presided a sort of men called *Boreada*—called so at that time and by the then Greeks—who were their priests and rulers.

Now to make a just reflection on this passage—There being no island of that size northward of Greece in the Euxine sea, or any place of that coast; and the position of this being expressly said to be opposite to the Celtæ, who were the inhabitants of Britain and Gallia; with other agreeing circumstances, excepting the size of it compared with Sicily, which last circumstance (the geography of places in those early times being uncertain) might be misreported; it may, I say, with these circumstances appear highly probable that the Isle of Mona was meant in that relation. And if so, this is the earliest account we meet with of it, in any history. For Abaris† was contemporary with, and a scholar of Pythagoras, about the fifty-fourth Olympiad, and five hundred and sixty-three years before the birth of Christ, as Porphyry and Jamblicus mention. And this Abaris, by the account of these authors, was a great magician, as some of the Druids were known to be. All which together may add credit to this, though a Greek story. And to confirm it the more, it is well known that the British isles held great correspondence and familiarity, by means of the Phœnician traders, with the Grecian islands; and that the learning of Pythagoras was in great repute with the British Druids; some of whom, as this Abaris did, might frequently come to visit and converse with the Greeks in those islands, and leave this character of it among them. However it was, I urge this story no farther than the foundation it is built upon will bear, on which let the reader pass his own judgment.

* Surnamed perhaps *ap Rem*. The Greeks and Romans took British surnames with their prefixes, as one name; as Prafulagus and Arviragus were probably but *ap Rem leg* and *ap Meyric*.

† See bishop of Worcester's Letter to Dr. Bentley, p. 45, 55, and Chronol. 7.

SECTION IX.

*That the Druids resided originally and metropolitically in the Isle of Mona :
Of the Romans' conquest of the island, and the consequences of that conquest ; with a conjecture of the removal and departure of these Druids.*

IT is generally allowed that universal consent and tradition, where evidences to the contrary are wanting, are in all cases of considerable weight and prevalence to infer a conclusion ; and though in the case before us it be I confess at this time of day of no great moment, whether these superannuated Druids seated themselves in this place or no ; yet as the matter relates to a point of history, any one that is concerned in it is obliged to give it what light he can, and the nature of the thing will bear.

I think I may take it for granted, that it is the generally-received account among all sorts of people in Wales, who pretend to any thing of antiquity, that the Isle of Mona or Anglesey was anciently the seat of the British Druids. Nay, there is not a book lately written of history or geography, which touches the Isle of Anglesey, but gives the same account ; though the opinion for all I could yet see, rather seemed to have been taken upon trust, passing from hand to hand among those authors who have lately mentioned it, than well settled upon its due foundation and evidence. It is to no purpose to recite instances, which are too many ; and which only serve to prove a consent, and that it has not been till of late years contradicted, which is all I propose in this part of the proof.

It is true, there has been some competition between the Isle of Anglesey and the Isle of Man for that pre-eminence, managed with some heats between the Welsh and the Scottish antiquaries. But that difference was not so much about the *thing*, in which they all concurred, as about the *name*, viz. whether Anglesey or the isle of Man was the true Mona mentioned by Tacitus. But that point our countryman, Mr. Humphrey Lloyd, has cleared beyond all dispute against the equally false as frivolous suggestions of Hector Boetius and Polydore Virgil. Yet it may well appear that the Scotch were not altogether out in one respect : and I must, with submission, profess my concurrence with them so far as to believe it very probable, that the isle of Man was also called Mona, and did anciently, as well as Anglesey, belong to the religious
Druids.

Druids—nay farther, and that the Druids after their expulsion from Anglesey by the Romans, did most of them retreat to *Manaw* * or the farthest *Môn*; and being settled there, did thence maintain their jurisdiction over the unconquered Caledonian Britons. So that indeed upon this supposal, both sides of the dispute may be true and tenable, but in different times; that is, Anglesey might be and probably was the metropolis to the time of the Roman conquest, and the isle of Man likewise from that conquest to the time of Christianity. And their being truly so, might well occasion those two different traditional accounts; especially as they were both of one and the same name, and thereby gave start to these disputes about them; which I shall anon more largely make appear.

The authorities of Cæsar and Tacitus considered together, though they do not expressly affirm, yet, by a consequence that any one may rationally gather from their words, they plainly and positively point—and that with as much evidence as any proof of that sort can admit of—on this Isle of Mona, as at that time the capital seat and academy of these religious Druids.

For first Julius Cæsar, in his “Commentaries of the Gallic Wars,” makes frequent and ample mention of these Druids, and of their orders and discipline; having it seems more than ordinary curiosity to inform himself of sundry particulars relating to their origin and institution. *In Britannia disciplina eorum reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur.* i. e. “Their order and discipline, it is thought, was first found out in Britain, and thence was conveyed into Gallia.”

Now Cæsar is express that their origin and first institution, as he was informed, was in Britain. By whom was he informed? by common report and tradition. *Existimatur*, it was then believed and thought so. Nay more, Cæsar not only says by report that their original was from Britain; but farther adds, that at that very time when he was writing his Commentaries, which is probably conceived to have been when he was on his Gallic expeditions—at that very time these Druids had their chiefest schools and their best and most accurate learning in some place in Britain. For, says he, speaking of their learning, *Et nunc* (meaning that very time) *qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerunque illo* (meaning Britain) *discendi causâ profisciscuntur.* i. e. “And now those

* *Manaw* a *Men* & *aw*, i. e. *Aqua*. As if one should say, the watery *Môn*, or *Môn* in the great ocean.

persons here (meaning Gallia) who would arrive to any excellency and perfection in that druidical learning, frequently go over to Britain to complete and accomplish their studies."

By this it is apparent, that their primary place of knowledge, or head university, was then somewhere in the isle of Britain; where they resorted from all parts, even from beyond the seas, to obtain the best and choicest learning of the time; and where, no doubt, their numbers were great, and the place considerable which entertained those numbers. But what that place was, or where it lay, no extant Roman authors—though in their relations of other things, places, and persons of far less account, they are very minute and particular—ever mention one syllable of it, except what is related by Cornelius Tacitus of the Isle of Mona or Anglesey. And therefore I take it to be in some measure conclusive, that since they mentioned not in any other place the appearance of this religious sect—which appearance if they had found but the least account or notice of, I can scarce believe they would have failed in the mention of it—it must be therefore in the Isle of Mona. Nay, Tacitus himself, who is the only author I know of that makes particular mention of this place, does not so much as name a Druid in any other part of the British territories, though he be also very exact in recording things of far less moment, till he comes to describe the expedition to Anglesey under Suetonius Paulinus, where he makes very particular mention of these Druids, of their groves, ceremonies, and worship.

It is probable indeed that these Druids, who before were every where sucking the sweets of the land, upon the approach of the Roman storm were fain like bees to rally home, and to withdraw to their hive, to secure themselves while they were able in their defended island, as their safest sanctuary. And good reason they had so to do. For Strabo assures us they were all extremely hated by the Romans, who gave them no quarters wherever they met with them. *Ob nefanda hæc sacrificia omnem Druidum superstitionem tollere tentarunt Romani, sed frustra.* i. e. "By reason of the horrid superstitious sacrifices of these Druids, the Romans strongly endeavoured to destroy their religion, but could not." And hence it is no wonder, that no Roman author takes notice of them in any other place, when they were not to be seen there, but had all retreated to their head-quarters, their last place of refuge, this Isle of Mona.

But here in this island, when the Romans knocked at their very doors, were ready to break up their nest, and unmercifully fall upon them, then it was no longer time for them to stand upon privileges, and cry *immunes bello*, that they were no votaries of Mars, no men of war: no, they must now to their arms; and, if possible, defend themselves, their groves, temples, and altars. And *here* indeed Cornelius Tacitus comes to the point; where, describing the manner and event of this battle, he shews us the place, which Cæsar before had intimated was somewhere in Britain. They had one *Archipræsul* or chief Druid among them — *His præest unus*, says Cæsar. And where was he, but where they all flocked to him? And where did they flock, but to the isle of Mona? Where Tacitus says they were seen in great numbers.

Here indeed Tacitus finds them out; as if his pen, having taken the hint from Cæsar, had travelled all the conquered provinces of Britain in quest of these Druids, and of the place of their abodes and studies. And at last, by tracing the steps of Suetonius Paulinus over a small arm of the sea, he fell on the very spot and place before hinted; and there at the first dash gives us an army of them. For mentioning there the Britains resisting the landing of the Romans in the island, he says, their army (meaning the Britons) was surrounded by another army (for he describes them no less) of Druids; of both sexes, men and women; for they had, it seems, their nuns and sisterhood in that order. *Dru- idæque circum, intercurfantibus fœminis*, are his words*. And these too appeared in such numbers that he calls them *muliebre & fanaticum agmen*, i. e. “a squadron of virago’s and madmen.”

The men Druids shewing *here*, no doubt, some part of their usual behaviour at their sacred ceremonies, i. e. *Sublatis ad cælum manibus diras preces fundendo*, in pouring out volleys of execrations and curses, with their hands lifted up to heaven, on the insulting Romans; as the women did theirs also, viz. *In modum furiarum, veste ferali, crinibus de- jectis, facies præferendo*, i. e. in running about like furies with burning firebrands in their hands, clad in fearful habits, with their hair waving and dangling behind them.

This very passage of the historian will, with unprejudiced men, render it highly probable, that this was the very place, and these the very persons of the famous Druids; and that that may appear yet to any one more plain and evident, let me only ask, if these Druids’ chief seat and

* Annal. lib. xiv.

residence had been in any other part of the then conquered Britain—and indeed what part of it had not the Roman army one time or other reached?—how it came to pass that we had not some account, in some author, of such an appearance of these Druids, playing their last game, *pro aris & focis*, as we have it by Tacitus in this isle of Mona? I need not press the question; it is so unlikely, that I think no satisfactory answer can be given it.

We find no where else but plain British fighting. But *here* in this isle of Mona, the historian gives a very different account of things. By what he relates of that passage, we may perceive the whole action to have had more of a grand religious ceremony in it, than a battle; very suitable to such a religious place; very agreeable to such a rabble of impotent cloistered bigots. When the Romans were just landing, what did the islanders do? Where was the accustomed British resistance? To shew us what sort of discipline they were under among that besotted religious crew, the first onset, we find, was begun with the spiritual weapons, *dirarum precum*, of curses and anathema's; whilst the laics stood—*stabat pro litore* (says Tacitus) *diversa acies*—ready to execute the Druids' commands on the fierce undaunted Romans; who, to confirm yet my argument the more, that is, that these Romans had never before seen such an encounter, nor in any place such a sort of people, *novitate aspectus milites percussi*, were more stricken with the novelty and strangeness of the sight, than with any part of the fighting.

But when the spiritual sword proved too short, and the British arms too weak, to sacrifice—in which these Druids seemed only skilful—those hardy Romans; they themselves, I mean the British people, priests and Druids, immediately fell a lamentable sacrifice to the Romans extreme outrage and cruelty; who, to shew us yet more plainly, the sacred furniture of the place, threw the poor Britons with their religious leaders into their own sacrificing fires—*igni suo involvunt*—destroying their beloved groves—*exiisque Luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri*—of old accustomed to most inhuman barbarities; and trampled down and demolished their altars, on which by their mangling the bodies of men they used to consult and appease their incensed infernal gods. *Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, & hominum fœbris consulere deos, fas habebant.* In a word, what Cæsar says in general of these Druids, Tacitus assures us in short, but fully enough, was practised by them in this isle of Mona.

This

This methinks is so unexceptionable a testimony of the matter, to any one who views that passage of Tacitus with impartial attention, that this island was at that time the chief seat and residence of these famous priests, that next his saying in express terms, that it was so, it is a clear moral evidence to oblige the assent of any one, that rightly considers the liberty of an historian. And if it be demanded, why he did not expressly say so? I answer, it was a common affection of his pen to express things vulgarly known, as that was, most likely, at the time, under the umbrage of more important characters. For what Tacitus says of these Druids in that particular, was as intelligible an intimation then of this place's being their chief seat and habitation, as it would be now in any French historian, who says that the duke of Bourbon besieged the Pope and his cardinals in St. Angelo, or that Rome is the Pope's head city.

Now having shewed the undeniable consent of ancients and moderns, the joint authority of Cæsar and Tacitus, which were enough of themselves to evince what I urge, without any farther proof; yet I will not rest here, but shall go one step further, by shewing such ancient remains and monuments, as both by the agreeableness of their names, and coherences of things and circumstances, make evident demonstration, as much as things of that nature can bear, of their being the relics of, and anciently belonging to, the before-mentioned rites and customs of the ancient British Druids.

FIRST, In respect of names—Though time, the great devourer both of names and things, hath made almost as clean work here as in any other place; yet it hath left us some, and by good fortune such too, as plainly answer the chief passages delivered of them in Greek and Roman authors; which I presume no other place, either in Britain or Gaul, can produce.

I have before hinted, how apartments and divisions of places here were most anciently distinguished into *Bôds*, *Caers*, and *Treus*. And that those names were promiscuously used and applied to particular precincts and allotments. Now in the chief part of this island, called *Cwmwd Mane*, in the very centre of that division, we are able to shew some of the ancient apartments of *Caers*, *Treus*, and *Bôds*, which have retained and kept to this day the appellation of all the forementioned orders of the Druids. Nay, not only the names retained, but also the orderly and regular position of the places which bear those names, so nearly ad-

joining and bordering one upon another, may contribute no small evidence to the truth of the conjecture.

To instance ; They had, it is allowed by all, one *Archipraeful* or head Druid, called *Dryw*, *propter excellentiam* ; and there, in that precinct, even in the middle of it, is a *Trev* or township called *Trer Dryw*, the Druid's town. This head Druid was in all probability nearly attended by the other orders, and his dwelling accommodated by the vicinity of those separate conventual societies ; and these orders and societies you have seen before distinguished out of Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus into *Drudau*, *Offwyr*, and *Beirdd*. Now for the *Drudau*, we have *Bod-drudau* ; for the *Offwyr*, we have *Bodowyr* ; and for the *Beirdd*, we have *Trer-Beirdd*. All these not only adjoining to, but almost surrounding *Trer Dryw*, the head Druid's supposed seat and mansion.

Besides these more substantial notes of Druidism, that preserve the memory of their whole system ; there are in that precinct to be taken notice of, other circumstantial memorials of the more observable parts of their discipline and worship ; deducible out of the remaining extant names of these places. Of which take these instances.

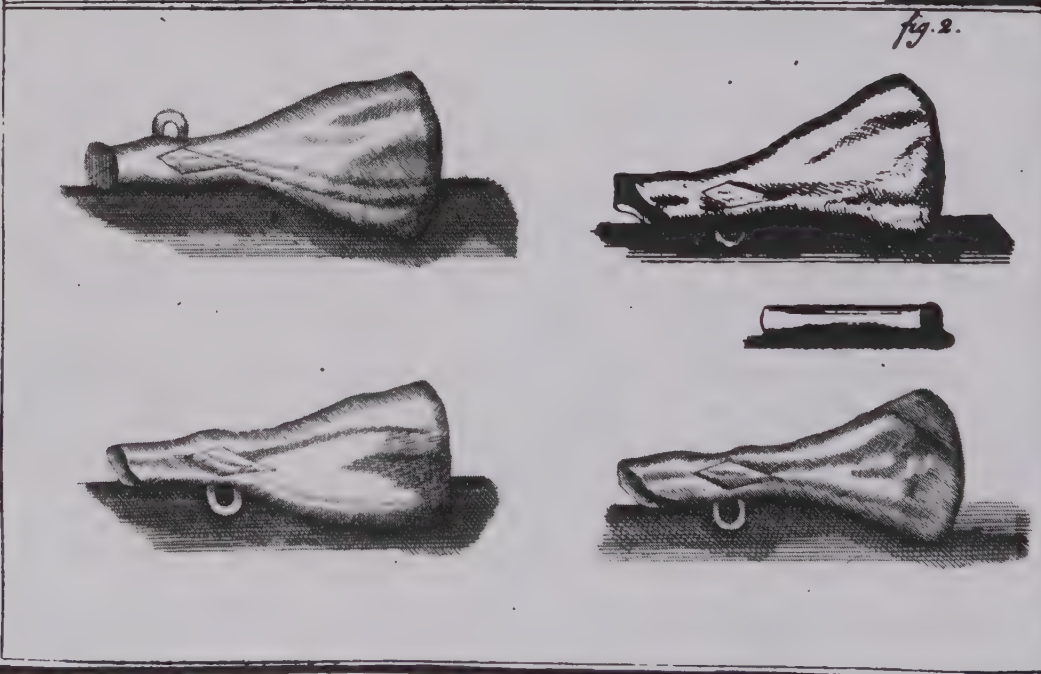
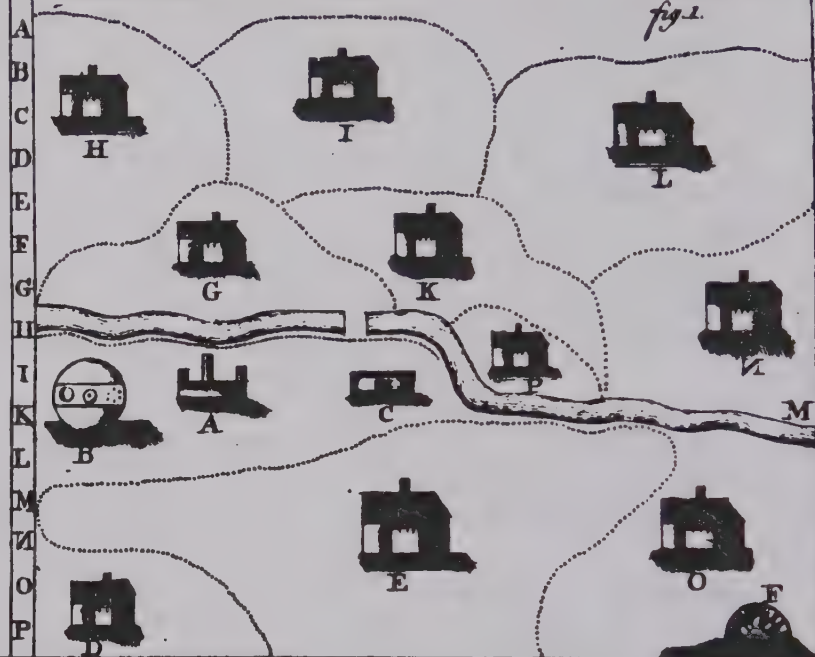
Gildas the Briton intimates that they had in the time of the Druids consecrated rivers and mountains. And there runs through the middle of these divisions the river *Breint*, i. e. the *Chief* or *Royal* River. The river *Brenta* in Italy perhaps was so called on that account ; and I know not but *Havren* might be originally called * *Awivraint* or *Avraint*, that is, the *Royal* or *Consecrated* River. Cæsar mentions their supreme consistorial court or tribunal. There is in this place a great circular bank of earth, mounted on a plain piece of ground, and called to this day *Brein-Gwyn*, i. e. the supreme court or consistory. As the ancients deciphered astronomy by the name of † *Edris*, a name attributed to *Enoch*, whom they took to be the founder of astronomy ; so there is just by, a summit of a hill called *Caer-Edris* or *Idris* ; and not far off, another place called *Cerrig-Brudyn*, i. e. the astronomers stones or circle. These religious priests above all things affected walks and solitudes ; and there is bordering on one of their townships a small villa called *Myfyrion*, i. e. a place dedicated to studies and contemplation. It was their exceeding care and concern to nourish and cultivate groves of oak, as is testified by many authors ; and hard by these townships

* *Aw* being the ancient word for a river.
Philosoph. p. 12.

† Vide Theophil. Galeum, de Generali

aforesaid,

Tre'r Dryn
 Bryn-Gwyn
 Caer-leb
 Cefn y Ferwen
 Tre'r Bwrdd
 Castell E dris
 Bod Drudau
 Mofoglen
 Tref y Wydd
 Bodonryr
 Mysyrion
 Rŵer Braint
 Bodlen
 Gwydryn
 Tre' Ifan



aforesaid, that retain the names of their orders, is a small precinct, or township called *Trev-ir-wydd*, i. e. the township of young trees, or the nursery of their sacred oak. There is also just by, a place called *Myffoglan*, perhaps from *Viscus* or *Misseltoe*, (*V* and *M* being promiscuously used in ancient times) a plant they highly venerated; and another called *Cefn y Verwen*, i. e. the juniper-tree's hillock, a tree of sacred use also in antiquity, as may somewhat appear by the prophet's taking it for his tabernacle (1 Kings xix. 4, 5) under which the angel of the Lord appeared to him. All which places, as the analogy of their names speaks something of Druidism, so they lie bordering on those precincts which bear the names of all their orders, as represented in plate II. fig. 1.

There are also in other places of this island some scattered relics of these names. There is *Bodowyr* in *Bodedern* parish; *Alaw'r Beirdd* in *Llanvachbreth*; *Maen y Dryw* in *Llan Elian*; and *Llanvibangel Trêr Bardd*; but in no place such a skeleton, such a regular and orderly position of the remains and ruins of Druidism, as I have observed and picked up in the parish of *Llanidan* and its neighbouring townships.

I must own that some of these names might with some colour and likelihood be ascribed to other causes than what I have here assigned them; as *Trev-ir-wydd* might be so called from *Merwydd-bên*, who was indeed some time tenant of that land; and *Caer-Edris* also might have its name from *Æneas ap Edris*, who was free tenant there likewise. But for all this, whoever considers how usual it was with the Britons to give names to their children from the names of certain places, to which they had some particular relation, as *Tegydd*, *Teganwy*, &c. will find reason to believe, that these names were rather conferred on them on that account, than that those places should be so called from the persons that bore those names; especially since it is evident that other places of the names I now mentioned in this district were very ancient, as *Moel-Edris*, *Cader-Idris* or *Edris*; and there is a place in the parish of *Llanddeniolen* in Caernarvonshire called *Caer-irwydd*, probably on the same account.

SECONDLY, From the names I shall descend to the things themselves; and of these I may say there are such too, as that there are hardly any particulars of note to be accounted for in their whole administration and worship, but one may, in the places I mention, shew some tokens and footsteps of every point of the relations of Cæsar, Tacitus, and others.

I will

I will here begin with the whole passage of Tacitus in relation to this island, and the inhabitants of it. He says, when Suetonius's army, crossing that arm of the sea which divides this island from the land adjoining, had got near the shore on the island's side, *Stabat pro litore diversa acies*. I take his meaning to be, that there stood nigh the shore the mingled Britons, natives and foreigners, to oppose the invaders landing. Now in that place where it is traditionally reported these Romans landed, about a bow-shot from the water-side, is a large field called to this day *Maes Mawr Gâd*, or as some call it, *Maes Hir Gâd*, viz. "The great or the long army's field;" from which to the shore of the river *Menai* there yet appear some remains of little works and entrenchments. A little to the East of that, just on the shore, there is a place called the *Rbiedd*, i. e. *Nobilium statio*, "the chief mens post;" on which place the other day were taken up from under a stone near the sea-shore a parcel of British * weapons, a sort of those *jacula amentata*, or such like (as appears probable from their loop-holes and sockets) in use among the ancients. See plate II. fig. 2.

* These brass or copper weapons are frequently found in the Isle of Anglesey, as indeed they are in all Wales, as well as in England; which implies, whether Roman or British, that they were very common and of general use with one or both of these people. That they were chisels to cut and model stones, though contended for by some learned men, I cannot assent to: and what virtue soever these may imagine the ancients considered in that metal, sure it is that it is utterly unfit for that purpose, by being of too lax and soft a texture, and its parts not stiff and rigid enough to take a hardening as steel and iron will do; neither can it be said that brass was harder then than now, or that they had an art of tempering it which is now lost, because the very metal itself remaining in these hatchets, plainly shews the contrary; many of them being rather copper than brass, which is a softer metal.

I have seen several of them, and one I have in my own possession, which is fresh and shews no tokens of being much used. It has no hollow in the back part as others have, but a blunt tail depressed on each side, fitted to fasten something to it: It is four inches and a half long, and two and a half broad at the edge. In wood perhaps something might be done with it, but it is far too soft to slice and batter any hard stones. I have often thought that if they gave this tool a good edge, fastened one end of a twisted thong or strap to the loop part, and the other end, like a flail, to the head of a lance or a long staff, accommodating the hollow part or socket with a stern or tail of long spread feathers, or some light thin plate or leather fly-back, like that of a weather-cock, set parallel to the edge of the weapon, to balance and guide the motion of it, to fall always like an arrow or a winged dart, on its point and edge, and managed with a strong arm, at the strap's length, and well laid on, it would be capable, by quick repeated strokes, of doing considerable damage and execution. Now that the ancient Britons, in their driving chariots, or in any other posture of fighting, amidst showers of darts, did use these sling-hatchets, if I may so call them (which, with a dexterous arm, from one blow given, would quickly return to give another) to annoy and gaul their approaching enemy, is more than I will pretend to say; only, that as these are very capable of being made use of in that manner, so it is presumed their being really used so will have leave to pass with others, as no unreasonable conjecture; and more than conjecture we have little now to affirm of the ancient British fighting; much less will I say that this was the only use they made of this ready tool, it being perhaps serviceable in many others, in their military expeditions.

Next,

Next, as Tacitus says they had, meaning the Britons; huge sacrificing fires near at hand, into which they were thrown by the conquering Romans; so now on that very spot, where it is supposed the battle was, there appears a great square *Tumulus* made up of earth and stones. Nay, I have been an eye-witness of a great quantity of ashes intermixed with pieces of bones taken out of the ground a yard deep not far from this place, with a small copper-coin of Claudius Cæsar, taken up very fresh and undecayed.

LASTLY, He says, *excisique Luci sævis superstitionibus sacri*. i. e. They had their groves, the till then inseparable concomitants of the Druidish priesthood, which the sacrilegious Romans immediately cut down and demolished. And to this day here are places retaining the ancient name of *Llwynau* or groves, as * *Llwyn Llwyd*, † *Llwyn Moel*, *Llwyn On*, ‡ *Llwyn Ogan*, and *Llwyn y Coed*, in or near every one of which may be remarked some remains of Druidish worship; either broken altars, pillars, or remains of a *Carnedd*. And no doubt there were many more groves, whose names are lost and quite forgotten.

It being now made somewhat apparent on the evidences produced, that the chief Druidical residence was in the Isle of Mona, and particularly in and about the place now called *Llanidan* parish; it may then be expected that that place of all the island, must be at that time most plentifully adorned with variety of formed groves, containing in them mounts, pillars, heaps, altars, and other appurtenances of their superstitious worship. And that although the groves surrounding them be now quite gone and perished, and the ancient names of them be utterly lost, yet it may be justly expected that many of the more lasting erections (on the supposal I offer) should remain there, as standing monuments of their long forgotten superannuated uses. And indeed in that respect there are of such enough to answer the end, and to give sufficient satisfaction to a just and reasonable enquirer.

But I must confess, that although I have found and observed many such remains in and about the parish of *Llanidan*; yet it is too difficult a task for me to adjust and put them so together, as to be able to settle a right determinate judgment of the true uses of them; which I am far from pretending to do. Neither after so long an oblivion do I think it likely to be done by any. Only this I shall presume upon, that if I give a reasonable account of those remains, in relation to those ancient uses:

* *Bryæ Calli.*

† *Plas newydd.*

‡ *Ogan vel Dir-egan, i. e. Vaticinium vel Augurium.*

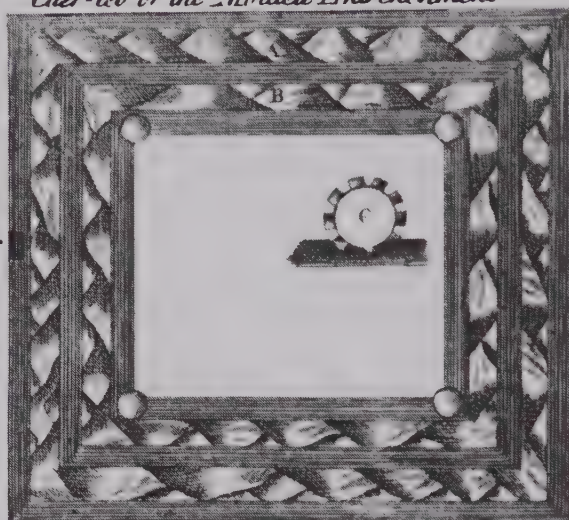
of them discoverable in authors of antiquity, and partly before-mentioned, I shall perhaps contribute some light to that point of history, so far as these evidences will extend ; and not displease those who out of a just affection to the antiquities of their native country, are willing to take up with coherent probabilities and reasonable guesses, where more clear and undoubted certainties and historical evidences are altogether wanting and silent in the matter.

FIRST, Since it is sufficiently evinced that the Druidical seat and residence was in the Isle of Mona ; and since those ancient betokening names and evidences, do principally determine and fix it in this territory ; it will be then expected that I shew some extant remains, in this place, of their habitation and other solemnities of their sacred office and authority ; which I shall attempt to do by presenting to my reader's view the particulars following.

It is scarce to be doubted, but that the head Druid, agreeable to his dignity and character, had his capital seat or mansion, surpassing all others of the inferior orders and societies in what was then reckoned magnificence and grandeur. But the British buildings being at that time generally of timber, except their ground-works and foundations, which were of stone and entrenched earth ; all we can now trace of those palaces and greater structures must be from what are left remaining and visible of those ground-plots and foundations. And by this way of search we are directed to observe, in this mentioned territory, even in the middle of the place called the Druids-Town, on a fair extended plain, a raised square of about fifty paces over, doubly entrenched, and moated round ; and so situated, that the river *Breint* might be, and probably was, brought in to fill the ditches of it, which were very deep, and are now all choaked up with mud. The innermost banks of the entrenchment are yet of some height, the angles a little elevated and rounded. The area or green plot within the banks are very even and level, shewing as if it had been the ground-floor of an erected wooden palace, having near the middle of it the foundation of a round tower of stone or stair-case. That this was no warlike entrenchment is demonstrable from its situation, it being so disadvantageously streightened on each side by rising grounds so nearly commanding, that it could afford no defence. And that it had a grove of oak sometime surrounding it (which may be one argument that it was a Druidical structure) the very mud taken out of the ditches of it discovers ; which near the bottom of the ditch seems to be all one mass of rotten oak-leaves : the whole plain

Caer-leb or the Matted Entrenchment

A y^e outer Bank
B y^e inner Bank
C y^e foundation of
a Tower.



Tan Ben y Cefn



A. the Foundation of the
British House as supposed
in the upper part to be
of Timber



with the entrenched foundation, called now *Caer-leb*, is represented in plate III. fig. 1.

Near this last-mentioned place, on a piece of ground called *Trev-wry*, there are a great many circular stone-foundations on the side of the river *Breint*. And also on another spot of ground hard by, called *Tanben y Ceon*, there are two large quadrangles lying almost contiguous on one side *. Their stone-foundations, which were very thick, appear of some height above ground. In each of these squares there are several very large circular foundations, formerly of great strength and capacity, far surpassing the ordinary British ruins, which are not unlikely to be the remains of some extraordinary British building in that township. I give only their form, but am not exact in their situation, which is of no great moment.

The chief Druid's principal seat and mansion being supposed to be in this precinct, we may also expect to find here some remains of his great temple and supreme tribunal, where we are told were acted the highest performances of his sacred office. And herein indeed we shall not be far to seek. For in the other end of this township of *Tre'r Dryw*, wherein all these ruins already mentioned are, there first appears a large cirque or theatre, raised up of earth and stones to a great height, resembling a horse-shoe, opening directly to the West, upon an even fair spot of ground. Secondly, about a furlong farther, directly West of this round bank, there appear the remains of a ring or coronet of very large erected columns or stone-pillars; three whereof are yet standing, together with the stump of a fourth, broken a little below the middle; by the position and distances of which, one may easily calculate their number and order to have been eight or nine great pillar-stones, pitched in a circle about an included area of about twelve or fourteen yards diameter; both these and the cirque last mentioned being conceived to lie included within one great grove, exhibit the representation in plate IV. fig. 1.

The round cirque or supposed theatre at the East-end is all made of earth and stones, carried and heaped there to form the bank; for taken up there they were not, because the bottom within and without lies level with the surface of the ground on which it is raised. It is within the circumvallation about twenty paces over, and the banks, where whole and unbroken, above five yards perpendicular height.

* See plate III. fig. 2 and 3.

It is called *Bryn-Gwyn* or *Brein-Gwyn*, i. e. "the supreme or royal tribunal;" *Brein* or *Breiniol* signifying in the British, *supreme* or *royal*; and *Cwyn*, properly suit or action, and metaphorically *court* or *tribunal*. And such the place must have been, wherever it was, in which a supreme judge gave laws to a whole nation. No one can reasonably imagine it to be properly *Bryn-Gwyn*, i. e. "a *white hillock*;" it being a low situation, and the soil about it, which sometimes denominates places, being not of a *white* but of a *reddish* complexion; neither is there any hillock of that name near it, from which it might be so called.

And now though this place, and the ancient name and celebrity of it be altogether forgotten, and quite out of mind; yet the composition of the name taken from British etymons, *Brein* and *Cwyn*, and its position so near the places which bear the names of all the Druidical orders, may well justify the conjecture of its having been once the supreme consistory of the Druidish administration. And for a farther confirmation of this particular, we may yet observe that the ancient use and meaning of that name was not altogether so forgotten, but that our language (as names and words of general concernment in any language will not easily be forgotten) has till of late preserved some footsteps of it. The British people, it seems, having still continued to apply the name of *Brein-Gwyn* to such places as were of supreme and sovereign judicature, wherever they happened to be; as appears by the remains of some, both of our late and ancient British poets, who took the word *Bryn-Gwyn* in that acceptation, always applying it to some supreme tribunal.

Pan fo tri Brenbin
Ar Orfedd y Bryn Gwyn
Gwynfyd y Rbïan.

Taliesin.

Here *Gorfedd y Bryn Gwyn* is plainly applied by *Taliesin*, or some other ancient poet, to a royal throne or tribunal. Neither is it unlikely but that *Taliesin*, or whoever was author of that ancient ode, might take the word in its Druidish acceptation, as having it in that sense from more ancient records and tradition, where it was applied in the wild prophetic way to any sovereign tribunal. And so I find it was by the later poets, viz.

*Yr budd gwrol, bardd gorwylt,
I eigion eiff y Werddon wyllt
Daw eihwaitb o'i daith i dir
(I'r Bryn gwyn braw jowngir)
A'r budd warcherir ar byn
Braw anghof yn y Bryn gwyn.*

Dafydd Lhwyd ap Llewelyn,
ynghowydd yr Wylan.

In this *Cowydd* of the poet, the word *Bryn gwyn* is undoubtedly applied to the great council of the nation. But to this purpose most plain is that of *Adda Frâs*; who almost graphically describes the parliament-house or Westminster-Hall by the name of *Bryn gwyn*. Both he and the last-mentioned poet threatening Henry the Fourth with I know not what Briton, to possess himself of the British sceptre, thus describes his motion, viz.

*Ac yngbastell y * Follallt yr ymguddia
Yn Hwenslo Hetb y bydd cadarna
Ac yn Siring Crofs yr ymgadarnbâ
I fyn'd i'r Bryn gwyn i gael eisteddfa.*

Adda Frâs.

In the first of these poets we may observe it called *Gorsedd y Bryn gwyn*; *Gorsedd* always denoting a tribunal or judicature; and in the second, the *braw anghof* and *braw jowngir* implying a great consternation, must also imply a great assembly. But the last passage is more plain still, where the poet describing the motions of his feigned conqueror, brings him through Hounslow-Heath to Charing-Cross, and thence *i'r Bryn gwyn i gael eisteddfa*, viz. to the great assembly or the parliament-house at Westminster, where the throne or place of inauguration then only was. It is true, Mr. Camden says the Britons anciently called the Tower of London by the name of *Bryn gwyn*; but the state assemblies being in those ancient times there kept, they might on the same reason then call it by that name.

These things being premised, I shall now venture to represent this great druidical grove or temple, as it then consisted, or at least might be conceived to consist, of a cirque, *carnedd*, columns, and altars, and

surrounded with a *quercetum* or a round enclosure of tall and spreading oak, in the manner described in plate IV. fig. 2.

That this great grove or temple was exactly as I represent it, no one will expect I should positively affirm. For in things of that remote distance and ambiguity, a sober guess, grounded on probability of circumstances and a just coherence of things, must be allowed to determine and fix particulars. When we survey the scattered ruins of a royal palace, may not one adjust the parts of it, and take the freedom to represent a probable idea of the whole? This is all I attempt in this particular. First, the cirque or theatre at the one end, the name and position of it, gives me warrant to determine the use. Secondly, the *Carnedd* in the middle, the great quantities of stones there, now scattered into hedges and applied to other uses; and having observed many other *Carnedds* so disposed, induced me to take them also to have been one. Thirdly, the great standing columns at the west end, three of them whole and entire, and the stump of a fourth taken notice of and adjusted to the rest, will discover to any one the position and range of them to be somewhat above a third of a circle, in a regular order; who by a view of them, letting his fancy supply the want of those that have been broken or carried away, and of such as lye in pieces stragling there, with imaginary ones, will easily find that the whole set of them, when standing, made a ring or coronet of eight or nine pillars, with a large area in the middle. Fourthly, the collateral pillars; four of them standing as I described them, but of the other four next the cirque there is but one now standing, to which indeed for coherence sake I took the liberty to add three attendants to answer their opposite ones: And truly whoever considers the kind and quality of these stones, being planks of limestone easily dissolved and broken, will soon judge that there were more once erected there; and therefore what I have added to the now standing columns was (*ex pede herculem*) merely for coherence sake, to pursue the order the rest were in, and to represent the complete idea of what without it would be irregular and defective. Fifthly, for giving them altars, the Druidical discipline was my warrant. And since I was assured they had altars, I could not more fitly place them than between their columns. Lastly, and the impaling of all within a round *quercetum* or grove of oak, the nearness of the parts to one another, and the congruity of the whole in such a form (for surely if these *barbaric* priests used groves of oak as septs and enclosures about all their celebrated and sacred places, as Pliny and others assure us they did, nature

Fig. 1.

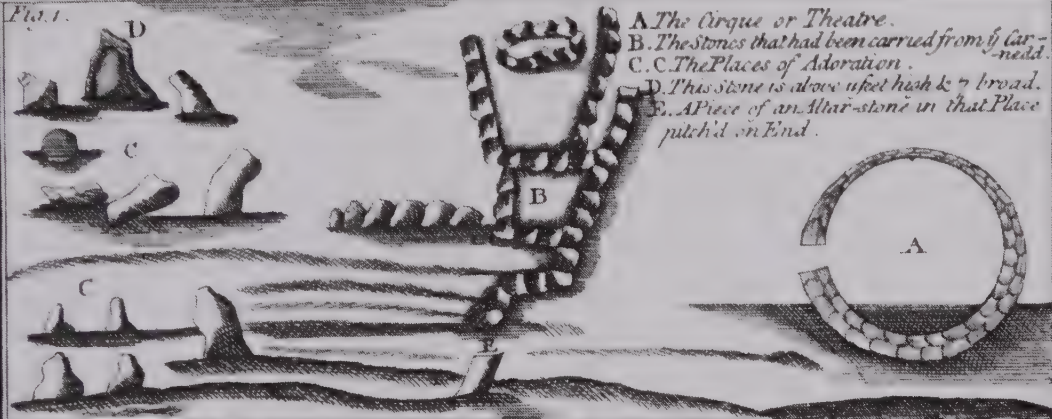


Fig. 2.

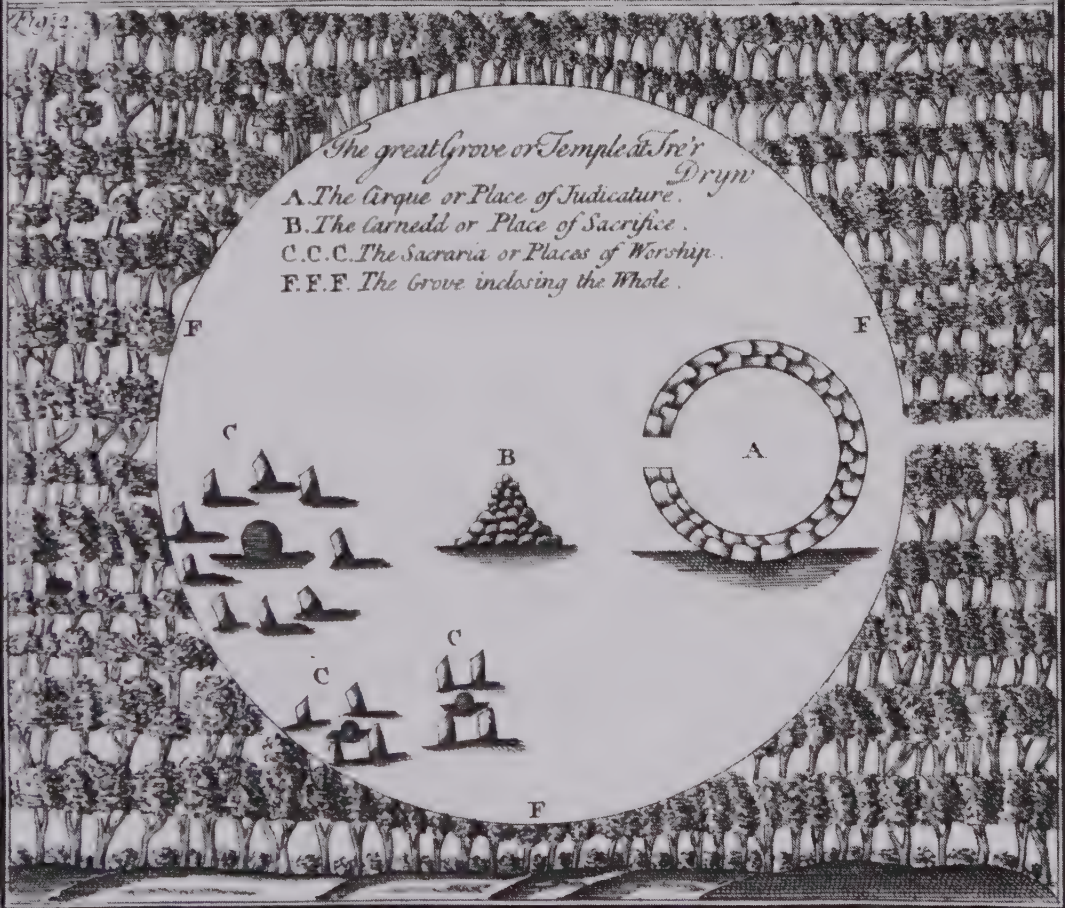


Fig. 1.



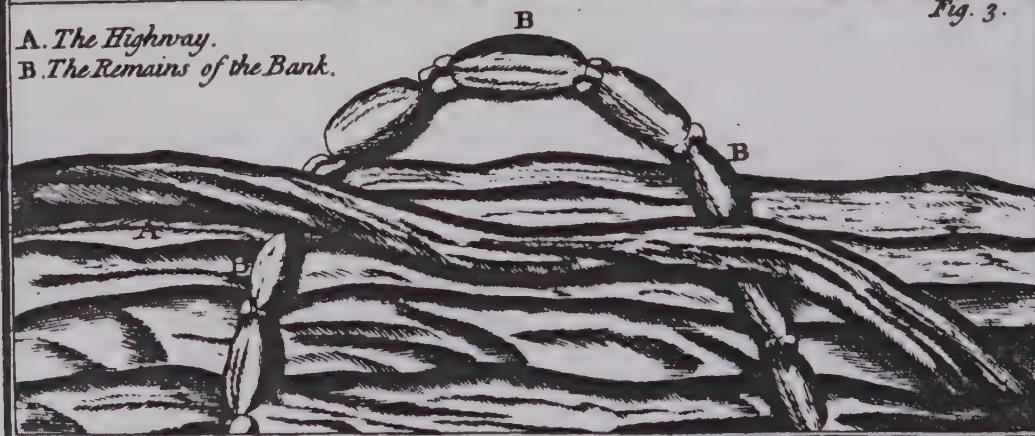
Fig. 2.

Length 7 feet, Breadth 6 feet, thickness 6 feet, if upper Stone is a Detruncated Pyramid & Flat at the top.



Fig. 3.

A. The Highway.
B. The Remains of the Bank.



itself would dictate to them to form and model them in the most august and becoming manner) persuaded me to it.

I shall only add, that at or near these mentioned monuments have been taken up some remains of antiquity; which, being well considered, will I presume somewhat favour, if not add confirmation to, the accounts I have here given of them.

Near the mentioned quadrangle at *Caer-leb*, I have been credibly informed there have been taken up some years past, great copper-clasps like door-hinges, all rusty, out of one of the ditches surrounding it. And not far from that, among the circular foundations that are in great numbers there, a curious enamelled copper-piece, knotted with various colours, of the bigness of a milled half crown, with a pedunculus or little square foot to it on one side. At the round cirque at *Bryn Gwyn* was taken up, the other day, a * medalium of our Saviour, with the figure of his head and face on the one side, exactly answering the description given of him by Publius Lentulus; and on the reverse, a fair Hebrew superscription bearing this purport, viz. "This is JESUS CHRIST the Reconciler:" of which see more in the *Addenda*. The dots in one of the letters represent a hole which was at that place fretted through it.

In the other townships likewise, and on the borders of them, there are to be seen either standing or thrown down, divers monuments of Druidish worship. There is a pretty *Cromlech* standing at the top of a hillock at *Bodowyr*, fig. 2. There is also on a rising part of the ground there, the high-way leading through it, the remains of a small cirque, fig. 3. And on another part of the ground there appear the marks of a *Carnedd*, the stones of which in times past have been disposed of into walls and buildings.

There are near *Llyslew Barn*, in the same township, the tokens of a *Carnedd*; and a well-shaped † pillar of great length, thrown flat on the ground. There is also a shapely *Cromlech* on the lands of *Blacbery* in the township of *Tre'r Beirdd*, now thrown down and lying flat on its supporters, fig. 2. And not far from this last-mentioned, there appears another demolished *Cromlech*, now called *Carreg-y-frân*, which seems to have been a double one; the two larger incumbent flat stones, with many lesser supporters lying disorderly, leaning on one another, fig. 3.

There are also the ruins of a small *Cromlech* not far from the last-mentioned at a place called *Barras*. A large demolished one at *Tyddyn*

* See plate V. fig. 1.

† See plate VI. fig. 1.

Cæsar, in the parish of *Llan Edwen*. Another ruined one at *Rhós y Cerrig*, in *Llanddeiniel* parish. The remains of one near *Carreg Wydrin*. There are also up and down many remains of pillars and erected columns in all these precincts; some single, and some ranged in circles; most of them broken and cast down, probably by the conquering Romans, or by the zeal of succeeding Christians; to both of whom the vile customs of the Druidish priests, and the appurtenances of their barbarities, were equally hateful.

But of such *Cromlecks* as remain yet undemolished, there is but one besides that at *Bodowyr* to be seen in all these precincts; and that a very large one, before mentioned, standing near *Plás newydd*, formerly *Llwyn Mael*, where it is probable one of their larger groves was. It is a double * *Cromleck*, a larger and a smaller contiguous together. There is also at *Plás newydd* wood one of the largest *Carnedds* in the Isle of Anglesey; yet scarce discerned and distinguished from a mount of earth, the stones being overgrown with earth and moss, and great trees growing thick upon it. It lies in a dry bottom, without any pillars now standing by it, fig. 2. There are also in *Llanddeiniel* parish, at a place called formerly *Llwyn Llwyd*, now *Bryn Kelli*, the remains of two *Carnedds*, within a few paces of one another; the one, fig. 3. is somewhat broken and pitted into on one side, where the stones have been carried away; the other, fig. 4. having had its stones almost all taken away into walls and buildings, with two standing columns erected between them.

There are also great numbers of single columns up and down the fields in this part of the island; some of large size, and some of lesser, which I pass by. But one thing I must take notice of, which is something remarkable, or at least such as I never observed before: and that is, on the top of a rising ground near *Bodlew* in the parish of *Llanddeiniel*, a deep excavated area, of considerable length and breadth, very flat and level at the bottom, of the form of a pear, *in plano*, edged about with stones and a bank of earth; and the entrance into it is in the smaller narrow end: it is commonly called *Hén Fonwent*, having the ruins of a chapel in the middle called *Capel Cadwaladr*, fig. 5.

The building in the middle of the plot seems by the situation and form of it to have been a Christian oratory; the name, viz. *Capel Cadwaladr* attesting the same. But what the place was anciently I know not.

* See plate VII. fig. 1.

A. the greater Table Stone
9. Feet broad.
B. the lesser Table Stone
6. Feet broad
C C The Supporters

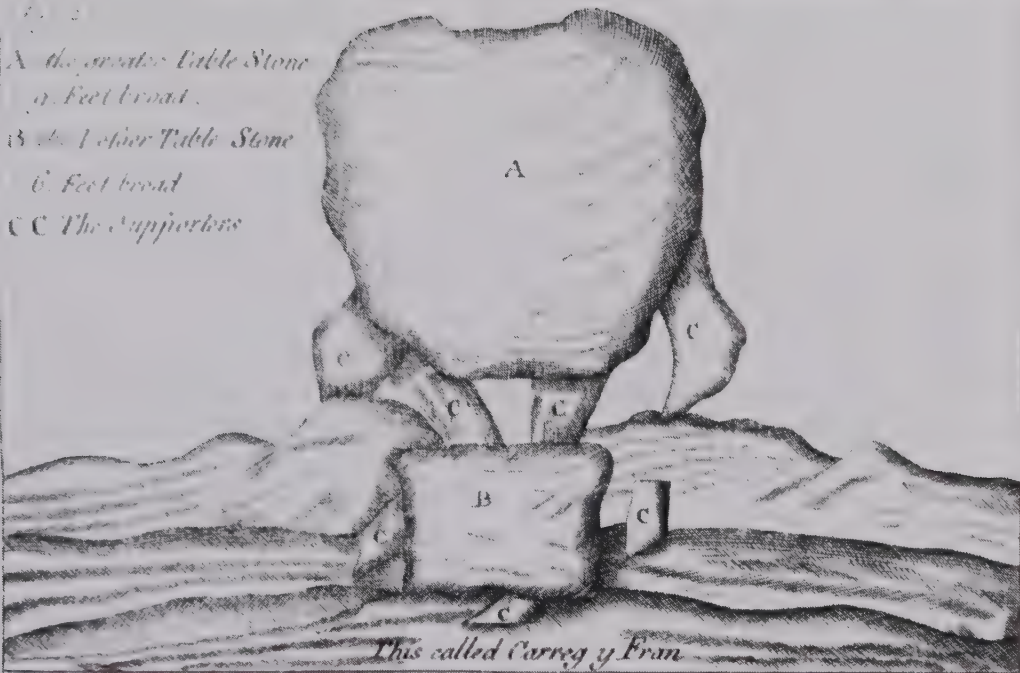


fig. 3.
A The Table stone 10. Feet long
B B. The Supporters.

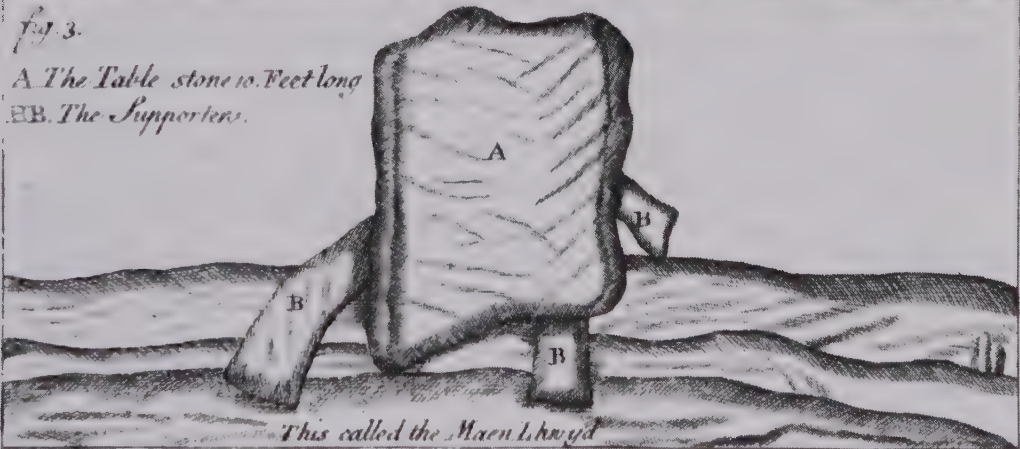
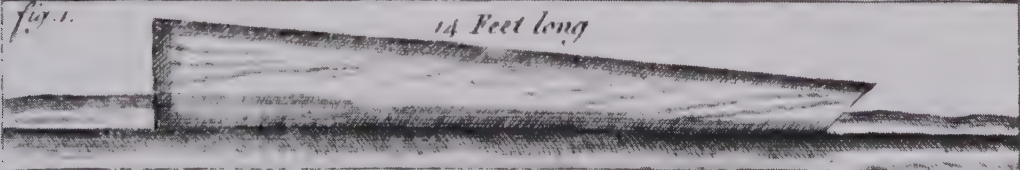


fig. 1.
14 Feet long



It is a matter of astonishment to some people, how these mighty stones, some of them ten, twenty, or thirty ton weight, could be carried in those rude times so great a way, and raised up to the height they are, either singly standing, as our columns; or leaning upon supporters, as our *Gromleche*. But the wonder will soon vanish, if we consider that wheel and pully-engines were invented in the earliest ages of the world; and that the use of the lever is as ancient as that of building. With which levers, by the helps of counterpoising weights at one end, and the other end fixed and placed under those stones upon fitted fulciments, they might heave up the greatest of them to a considerable height with great ease and security. The almost incredible things which antiquity performed of this sort, have been deservedly the wonder of succeeding ages; and what the right application and practice of mechanic knowledge is able to effect of this kind, may be as justly the wonder of this, to any who considers not the extent and efficacy of those mechanical powers. See Bishop Wilkins's book on that subject. And our ancestors here having early communication with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, those great masters in that knowledge (witness the pyramids and obelisks of the one, and the great architecture of the other) that they should arrive to some degree of that knowledge is no hard thing to imagine. I presume it will not be unacceptable if I subjoin here a mechanical demonstration of the raising and erecting of some of our largest stone-monuments by the application and practice of those powers.

The powers of the lever and inclined plane, being some of the first things understood by mankind in the use of building, it may be well conceived, that our first ancestors made use of them. And in order to erect those prodigious monuments, we may imagine they chose where they found, or made where such were not ready to their hands, small *aggreres* or mounts of firm and solid earth, for an inclined plane, flatted and levelled at top; up the sloping sides of which, they might with great wooden levers upon fixed fulciments, and with ballances at the ends of them to receive into them proportionable weights and counterpoises, and with hands enough to guide and manage the engines; I say, they might that way, by little and little, heave and roll up those stones they intended to erect, to the top of the hillock; where laying them along, they might dig holes in that earth, at the end of every stone intended for a column or supporter, the depth of which holes were to be equal to the length of the stones; and then (which was easily done)

let slip the stones into these holes streight on end ; which stones so sunk and well closed about with earth, and the tops of them appearing level to the top of the mount, on which the other flat stones lay ; it was only placing those incumbent flat stones upon the tops of the supporters, duly poised and fastened, and taking away the earth from between them almost to the bottom of the supporters ; then there appeared what we now call *Stonebenge*, *Rollrick*, and our *Cromlech* ; and where they lay no incumbent stones, our standing columns and pillars. This being the easiest and most natural way we can imagine for the erecting of them, we may probably conclude it was so done.

Hitherto having represented the state and transactions of this island under the command and government of the ancient Druids, and given some accounts of their establishment, authority and religion ; I come now to consider how these religious societies came to be dissolved and rooted out of the island by the conquering Romans, under whose sceptre it continued some hundreds of years. In which time the light of the gospel plentifully shined upon it ; its darkneses and shades of error, together with its heathenish groves and barbarities, being by these grand instruments of Providence, the Romans, utterly razed out and exterminated.

Wherefore the Druidish government being now a breaking and approaching to its period (to assume the Roman part of the history of this island) we have not much more of recorded matter of fact to build upon, than what we have out of Cornelius Tacitus ; which indeed is brief enough, but, according to the character of that writer, very pithy and comprehensive ; and may be well relied upon as an historical truth. He being himself, some while after things were transacting here, *Questor* in *Belgium*, could from thence easily inform himself of all he has set down in writing, by such persons as had been eye-witnesses of the matter ; which he might take up and carefully put in his notes from the relation of such as he might see pass by in their way to Rome, who had been upon the place, and seen all that he has recorded of it. And we have reason to think that our author had a more than ordinary eye upon the place, and took the more exact and particular account of it from such relations, because it added so much to the fame of his much admired father-in-law Julius Agricola, who completed the conquest of this island.

He tells us, that in the successive governments of P. Ostorius, Didius, and Verannius, Claudius's lieutenants in Britain, after the defeat of *Caractacus's*

raetacus's party, and sending him prisoner to Rome, the *Ordovices*, or North-Wales men made frequent and busy attempts to shake off the gauling yoke of a severe and unaccustomed subjection. And it seems the Isle of Mona being near at hand, and always a place of refuge, and at that time of strength and safety to the poor harrassed Britons ; many of the better sort of them retreated thither with what of their effects and substance they could carry with them, to be themselves in more safety, and at liberty to consult their friends, and to determine what measures were to be taken to recover their lost estates and possessions. Here no doubt they took care to convey what was for military use and service, and were ever ready from hence to help their friends on occasion with their best supplies of council and assistance. The truth of which might be that which moved the pen of the historian to call it, *Insulam incolis* validam & perfugarum receptaculum*, viz. " the isle of heroes, and the refuge of the distressed who fled into it."

This very thing, with the exceeding wealth of the place, we may well conceive, provoked the greedy Romans to fall on the muses seat, and to use extraordinary efforts to seize and ravish it, with the rest of the *Ordovician* territories. At this time appears Suetonius Paulinus, governor of Britain, a man of wise conduct and resolution. He plainly saw there was no quelling and keeping down the restless spirits of these bold and daring *Ordovices*, while this island, the very fountain of their life and courage, remained untouched ; and therefore he hastes to set things in order in the provinces, and immediately attacks these men with a resolute army on the brink of the river *Menai*. While this brisk and resolute general was getting ready a small fleet of plank-boats, as Tacitus describes them, to waft his infantry over ; these cunning Druids, we may imagine, were as busy on the other side in providing themselves such boats and corraghs as they then used, to be at hand, if necessity required, to carry them over to the isle of Man or to Ireland, their next places of safety.

Here we must not think too mean of our British governors, that they turned their backs before they saw the face, or could discern the frowns

* Anglesey seems to have had three names given to it by antiquity ; viz. *Yny Faw*, from its situation ; *Yny Dwyall*, from its groves ; *Yny y Cedairn*, from its heroes, or its powerful and celebrated priests and Druids. So that it is proverbial with us to this day to say, when any thing appears wonderful or singularly remarkable, *Ni bu eried y fath betb yn yny y Cedairn* ; viz. " Never was the like in the isle of the heroes," which, according to Plutarch, must be the Isle of Anglesey.

and menaces of the enemy. No, that would too much dishearten the zealous multitude, who had taken their last sanctuary under the powerful charms of their holy rites and invocations. That motive might prevail with these unwarlike leaders to stay a while, to try the event of things, and to see what the infernal powers would do in defence of their *Sacraria*, their groves, idols and altars. And therefore we may believe that they stood to it, and marshalled their men in their best array to stand the brunt, while they were preparing their dreadful artillery of curses and execrations. In this order we may conceive they came, and encamped themselves in that place before-mentioned, to watch the enemies motion, and to make what resistance they could in case they landed.

Here was an appearance, by what * Tacitus reports of them, able to have given a much greater shock to the adventuring Romans in their landing, than we find it did. But we must not expect them here to act as true Britons, but rather as a besotted crew (though many of them perhaps of the prime *Ordovican* gentry) which had wholly consigned themselves over to the guidance and conduct of infatuated monkish Druids; who, it is like, made them believe, that the deities of that sacred place, once well pacified, and engaged by repeated oblations and sacrifices even of their best things and dearest relations, would be highly concerned to stand by them, to protect their persons, to fight their battles, and to exert something more than human means, in defending that sacred ground and those holy things from the impure hands and polluting feet of these hateful miscreants.

And therefore for some days, while the Roman general was sitting out his little armado, and expecting tide and season for his swimming cavalry, we can expect in this Isle of Mona nothing but loud invocations and curses; and dismal screams of dying victims, echoing one another from the hollow resounding groves: in every corner, altars smoking with the horrid miserable burnings of the bodies of men, women, and children; of rogues, profligates, and captives.—*Crepitantque preces, altaria fumant*: when presently the Romans make to the boats, put in their foot, and swim their horse at a convenient tide without the least stop or opposition.

Lo here the unlucky fruit of besotted bigotry! The Britons if well disciplined might have bitterly annoyed the disordered Romans at their

* Cornelius Tacitus, Annal. lib. 14.

first landing. But what did they do? *Stabat pro litore diversæ acies*, says Tacitus. Shall I render it, "They fought for the shore and their country?" Or rather, "They stood still," expecting, belike, the artillery of the Druidical curses to make greater execution on the daring assailants, than the sharpest of their British darts and weapons. And in this indeed they were not quite out; for it was bravely acknowledged by the Romans, that the very sight of their mad ceremony, stupified the Roman soldiers more than all the blows they received from their unsteady misguided enemies: *Ut quasi hærentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus præberent*, as the historian words it; i. e. they (meaning the Romans) stood also stock still, and fixing their eyes on the surprising strangeness of the encounter, exposed their bodies for some time to be the open unguarded mark of the enemies fury; till their active general at last with some passion called them on, to drive away that maddened foolish multitude, that with vain imprecations and silly gestures thought to put a stop to the progress of those arms, which by good manhood and discipline had already conquered the greatest part of the then known world.

Now the enraged Romans having got to land, and the conquering sword having taken its fill of British blood, these giddy Druids who durst not engage in, but stood without the array of battle—*Druidæque circum*, as Tacitus remarks upon them—seeing their sacrifices and oblations, on which they most depended, prove ineffectual on these fearless Romans, nimbly slipped away, we may suppose, to their woods and coverts, leaving their people to be miserably cut down and slaughtered by the advancing Romans; *Inferunt signa, sternuntque obvios & igni suo involvunt*, are Tacitus's words, "who without pity or moderation hacked and hewed down on all sides the unfortunate Britons, augmenting the flame of their unhappy sacrifices with the fuel of their slain and wounded bodies."

As for the place of their landing, and of their routing this religious army, we have no exact account of it. But there are probable grounds to conclude that it was near *Porthamel*, betwixt a place called *Pwll y fuwch* and *Llanidan*. For Tacitus says that the horse *vado secuti*—swam it at the ford: And that ford or shallow is just under *Llanidan*. And it seems their foot landed in their flat-bottomed vessels near the said *Pwll y fuwch*; where there is a place called *Pant yr yscraphie* to this day; the Romans calling such boats *Scaphæ*, and we from them *Yscraphie*, with an addition of one letter, as is usual in these changes.

And indeed the mount or *Tumulus* in one of the fields adjoining, about three bows shot from the sea, seems to be the place of that great sacrifice : whence the Druids took up firebrands in their hands, brandishing them like furies about the army ; and where the Romans involved the taken and slain Britons in the devouring flames of their own sacrifice.

Now when the prevailing Romans had reaped the fruits of conquest, and the retreating Druids, the heads of them who had escaped untaken in the flight, had slipped to sea, leaving the rest of their crew to sculk and shift for themselves ; we may conceive that the Romans' next work was to demolish and prostitute under their insulting feet their most sacred things and places, then devoted to most gross inhuman barbarities : And when that was effected, to fix and settle a garrison over the separate districts and townships of the island. *Præsidium imposuit vicis*, as the historian renders it.

There are the ruins of two or three small British towns, near this place of battle : one near *Bryn sienkyn*, called *Hendre* ; another on the top of *Bryn Gwydryn*, called *Caer Idris* ; and the third on the top of a hill near *Portbamel* house, whose name is lost ; which in all likelihood were all then demolished. In one of these, namely, *Caer Idris*, on the top of *Gwydryn*-hill, it is probable the Romans built a fort (it being a place of strength, and conspicuous to the whole island) to plant in a garrison to secure themselves and establish their conquest.

These conquering Romans mastering the isle, and setting somewhere a garrison, as Tacitus plainly tells us, there seems none likelier than this ; for it is a Roman work, of a half moon form, guarded by a treble wall, and defended on the back by a precipice. It seems to have been built on the ruins of one of those British towns ; for some of the round foundations appear yet about the skirts of it. It was a well fortified place and well situated, in the sight of a great part of the island, to keep them in awe and hold them in due subjection and obedience. See figure 6. in plate VII.

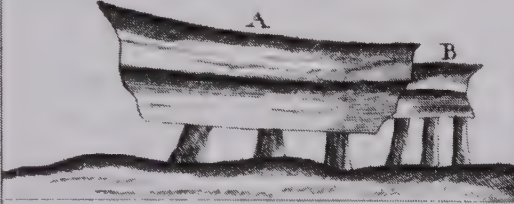
But although it was conveniently situated and strongly fortified at that time, yet it seems it did not continue long undemolished by the native Britons ; who, upon a sudden turn of affairs in a short time after, quitted their subjection and returned to their former liberty and possessions.

For Suetonius Paulinus the Roman general, before he had finished the absolute conquest of this island, and hunted out the sculking Druids that remained from their holes and receptacles, was suddenly recalled to assist the Veterans and Roman garrisons at *Verulam*, *London* and

Camelodunum ;

- A. Length 13 Feet. Breadth 6 Feet.
Thickness 3 Feet.
B. Length 6 Feet. Breadth 5 Feet.
Thickness 2. ½ Feet.

Fig: 1.



- A. The even side 20 paces up.
B. The broken side.
C. The Circumference
100 paces.

Fig: 2.



- A. The demolish'd Carnedd
B. The Columns
C. The Standing Carnedd

Fig: 3.

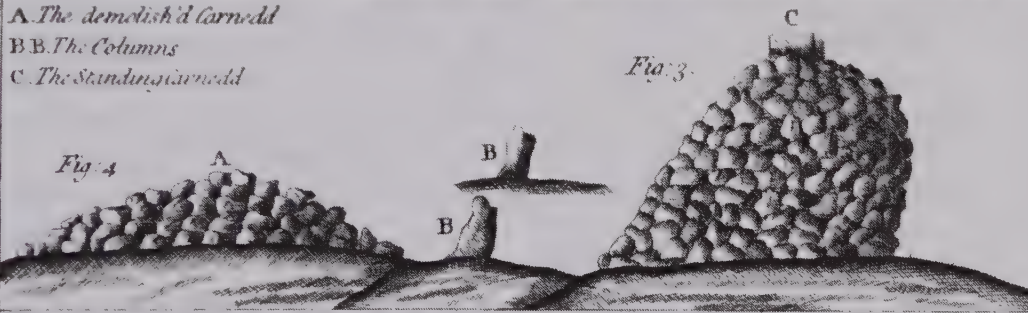
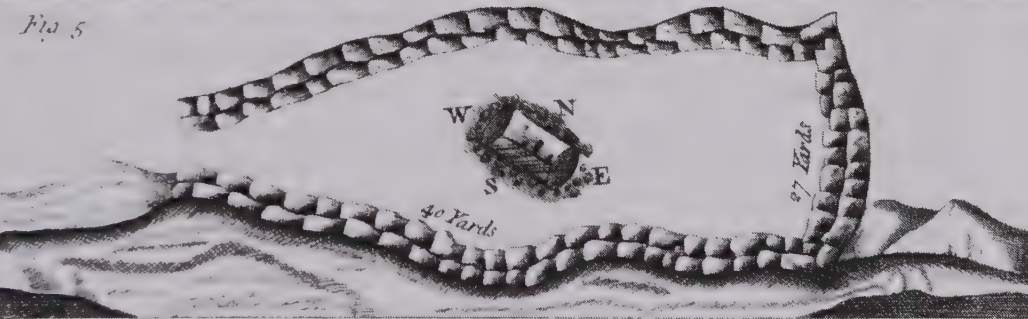


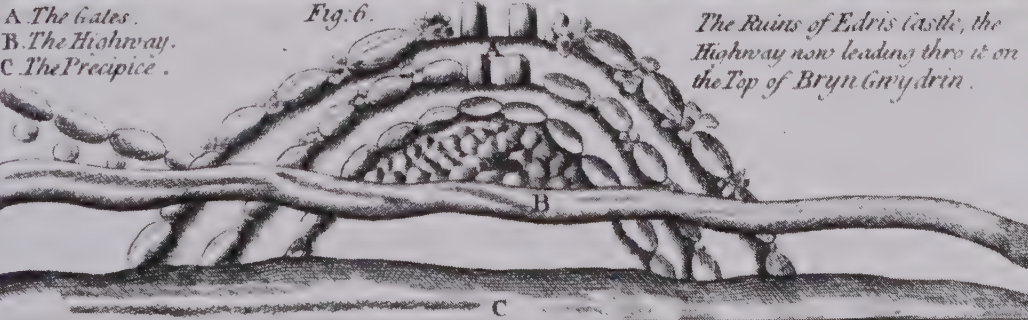
Fig: 5.



- A. The Gates.
B. The Highway.
C. The Precipice.

Fig: 6.

The Ruins of Edris Castle, the
Highway now leading thro it on
the Top of Bryn Gwydrin.



Camelodunum ; who were at that time in very great and apparent danger from a general revolt of the Britons of those provinces.

Now the general being thus in haste called away, and the affairs of the island being yet crude and not digested into any standing order and regularity at his quitting of it ; it may now become a question, whether he left any forces in his new *præsidium* to keep things in a tolerable order, till a more favourable opportunity would present itself to settle and complete the conquest. It is most likely he did not leave any ; for the harrassed Britons, being at last overcome with most unsupportable injuries and provoking hardships, made at this juncture strong and violent shakings and convulsions in the very heart and bowels of the inland provinces, which must oblige this wary soldier to contract his whole strength to secure the main stake ; and therefore it is most probable, that he then took up every where (so great a slaughter having been made in those provinces of the Veteran Romans) the few Cohorts and Legionaries he had, whom in that case he could only trust, and with them made a speedy march to quench the then open flame of a great and terrible rebellion.

In this interim, the Roman forces being all gone from the island, or if any were left, they were here as in a pound, and would be soon knocked on the head ; the lurking Druids, upon that welcome sunshine after so terrible a storm, might safely peep out ; and forsaking their dens and coverts might come once more in view to contemplate the fate of the place, and to put their heads together to concert the best and fittest measures to dispose and order themselves and their affairs for the future. They saw every where the deplorable effects of fire and sword. They beheld in every corner the marks of the Romans implacable hatred to them and their religion, wounding their souls with ghastly prospects of ruins and desolations. Their groves destroyed ; their altars, pillars and other sacred instruments and objects of their worship laid level with the ground ; and their erected structures and habitations demolished and sunk into ashes and ruins. This must needs exceedingly afflict and grieve those distressed people, already extremely intenerated by the disappointments of their adored powers, to find themselves and their sacred places consigned and abandoned by their gods (whom in vain they sought to appease with their profusest adorations) to the rage and fury of their incensed wrathful enemies, under whose lash they had lately so severely smarted.

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These or the like reflections, it is natural to conceive, wrought in the minds of these religious people when their thoughts began to clear, and determined them to quit the island and get to their brethren, who had gone over before to the isle of Man and Ireland. For although under the charms and infatuations of their superstitious religion they gave specimens of very absurd and unpolitic carriage, which must on that account be excused them ; yet in other respects they must be allowed to be a sober intelligent sort of people. And in that circumstance we may be sure they could not chuse but consider, that although the Romans were now gone, yet they well knew the way, when their affairs were settled, to make them, if they stayed here, another visit ; for which indeed they could have no great relish, having been the last time so severely treated by them.

They saw their groves cut down and destroyed ; they considered that a short interval of peace, if they should have any, would be too little a time to replant and repair them : They were not ignorant in geography and navigation, after the mode of that time : And they well knew there were many large territories to the northward, which the Romans had never seen ; and they were not altogether unprovided of means and ways of going thither. And therefore we may well suppose they might conclude it their best and wisest course, to get themselves over to the isle of Man and to Ireland—being the next countries to them, and places of more safety and less subject to invasion, than the place from whence they came ; and where, with their fellows who had gone over there before, they might re-settle their Druidish government and jurisdiction over Ireland and the unconquered Caledonian Britains. And so I think it probable these fearful slippery Druids quickly left the Isle of Mona, where they had so long presided, and cunningly transported themselves, and what they could carry with them, from the conquered to the unconquered *Môn* or *Manaw*.

These things being so at that time, as we may probably think, what shall we then conceive of the case and circumstance of this desolated, deserted island ? No doubt its late Druidish magistrates, though now all gone, left yet their best advice and directions behind them to support its peace and welfare whilst it might enjoy them. And if on that sudden dissolution of its government, it will be thought to groan for some time under the direful effects of confusion and anarchy, in being exposed to the tumults of the busy and to the lust and rapine of every scambler ; yet we may think that even in that case, the very thoughts

of another descent of the enemy, which they knew not how soon might happen, together with that natural desire all people have of the security and preservation of their lives and liberty, was a ready suggestion to prompt and animate the remaining natives of the place to consult and meditate all possible means to protect themselves, and to defend their country, from the unjust usurpations of those lawless aggressors. They must have considered that all this in such apparent danger was only to be effected by a firm resolution of abandoning all private disgusts and animosities, and of maintaining among themselves a strict inviolable unanimity, peace and concord, which in all likelihood they closely adhered to and cultivated.

Thus in a little time, it is probable, animated by the advice and example of their neighbours, they put themselves in a posture to receive the enemy with a second brush whenever they came upon them. But the Roman general, having his hands full of work with the southern Britains, gave them time to repair their desolations, and to fortify themselves here and there after the mode and example the Romans had lately given them. The footsteps of which little works and fortifications are to this day visible in many places along the banks of the river *Menai*. They had opportunity by what they had seen and wofully felt of the Roman way of fighting (their superstitious masters being now gone) to form themselves to more regular methods, and to train their men to that way against the time that occasion should call them to it.

But that was not soon; the Roman distractions encreasing, the poor islanders continued free—*populus sui juris*—perhaps a longer time than they expected. The death of Nero, the *pro-prætors* being suddenly and frequently changed, and the affairs of the provinces being very various and fluctuating, this island enjoyed some calm and respite (unless a few inward storms interrupted it) from the middle of Nero's reign to the eighth year of Vespasian; which was at least fifteen years. But this Vespasian, who had formerly himself served in Britain, knowing better than any of the former emperors the state and genius of the British people, sent over one Julius Agricola, his *pro-prætor* or lieutenant-general, to reduce and settle the tumultuous wavering state of the British provinces.

This Agricola, no ways inferior to any of his predecessors in martial abilities and conduct, wisely considered, as Suetonius had done before, that the *Ordovices*, who had been all along a vexatious thorn in the Romans' sides, and had lately cut in pieces a whole party of them, were

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to be first quelled and subdued before any enlargement of the conquest could be effected, or any lasting tranquility settled in the provinces. And therefore though this General came not over to Britain till it was late in the summer, yet he quickly dispatched affairs, and immediately transferred the whole weight of the war to the *Ordovices'* country; and marching down there, used the most brutish barbarities on all that came to his hands, sparing neither age nor sex; and as the chief end and design of his coming there, he suddenly appears with a numerous army on the southern shore of the river *Menai*.

The station he took before the Isle of Mona was in all probability near the place called *Crîg* in *Llanvair isfaer*; which retains, methinks, something of his name. The islanders on the other side were, no doubt, extremely perplexed and surprized at so sudden and unexpected an approach of the enemy. They had almost lulled their fears asleep in that long interval, and had well nigh persuaded themselves, that the Roman eagle had forgot his little prey, till they saw him, to their great astonishment, spread his wings on the farther banks of the river *Menai*. And though they were not a little daunted at the sight of such an army, standing at their doors; yet being some, as we may suppose, of the noblest of the *Ordovican* Britains fled thither, we may believe they wanted not a stock of valour, though of strength and arms they did, to shew the stoutest and most obstinate resistance against the attack of an injurious enemy.

They saw that the Romans that threatened to invade, were enraged against them, who perhaps were the men that had massacred and cut to pieces a party of the Romans a little before, and were now to expect avengement; and therefore they easily foresaw that if the Romans landed and took by force the island, there were no quarters to be expected; these Romans usually punishing what they called rebellion with sharpest severity, tho' using their conquests with great mildness and clemency. These thoughts or the like might dispose the Britains in the island, tho' otherwise their hearts were big and haughty enough, to propose, in case the Romans landed, terms of submission and obedience. Yet they might leave that to the last; they might trust to their natural enclosure, their liquid fence and rampart. And besides, observing that the year was pretty far advanced, and that the Romans, to make an attack, wanted boats; they might therefore conceive it would be too late e'er they could furnish themselves with boats and other necessaries, for an attack that year. And perhaps they were not out of hopes, if
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the Romans continued there a considerable time, that the *Ordovices* from the hills, unseasonable weather, or some other accidents would interpose to give the enemy a diversion.

But the great Agricola, when he found neither boats, nor materials for them ready at hand, to carry his infantry over (as Suetonius had done) to the island, determined to transport them by another method; and being told, it seems, that there were places of no great depth, at low water, in that interposing channel, resolved with all possible speed to ford and swim it over. To that end, one may presume that he caused diligent search to be made of all the shallows and fordable places of the channel; and enquiring into the usual way practised in passing without boats such fords and shallows, and having been well informed of the way and manner of doing it, and apprehending it very suitable to his design and purpose, he committed the whole action and the management and guidance of the achievement to a choice band of auxiliaries; *Quibus nota vada & patrius nandi usus*, are Tacitus's words, i. e. "who were well acquainted with the fords and the country method of swimming."

Having secured the fidelity of these men, as it is reasonable to suppose, and having all things in readiness, and at that time of the year, (being about the middle of September by Tacitus's account) meeting with the opportunity of very low ebbs, which are then usual; they set forward the action, I conceive, by tacking together horses, men, and arms, in a certain usual way; they took the advantage of a moveless tide, fair weather, and a very low ebb, and by the help of poles, pikes and lances (perhaps bearing up the footmen where the water was deep, and guiding the motion of the horses along the turnings of the channel) they got firm and solid footing on the shore of the island; which is what I can make of that account of Tacitus, *Quo simul seque & arma & equos regunt*, i. e. by which (meaning their country way of swimming) they managed themselves, their horse and armour in their passage; and that it was a swimming posture they were to use there and govern themselves in, Tacitus is express, calling it *patrius nandi usus*, the usual ferriage and way of passing over such fords.

The place they passed over must be where these shallows are, that is, just from *Llanvair*-point on *Caernarvonshire*-side to a little south-west of *Llanidan*-church on the other side, where the water now at lowest ebbs is not above a fathom or two deep where it is deepest. And

when the sands, which remove to and fro with the winds and tides, bank and lodge at the edge of a rock, which crosses the channel in that place, as now sometimes they do, and probably did so at that time, it is except in few places fordable without much difficulty. And I have been credibly informed it was about forty years ago so shallow there at some ebbs, that very small boats for some while stuck a-ground in passing along the channel; and that two men approached so near on each side, that they came within a pole's length to one another.

At this place, and in this manner, I presume the industrious General, as Tacitus says, *Repente immisit*, suddenly dispatched his horse and foot over upon the astonished yielding Britons; who it seems expected nothing less, than to see the Romans all of a sudden first conquer their sea, and then enslave their country. *Obstupefacti hostes qui classem, qui naves, qui mare expectabant*, i. e. "The affrighted Britons, who expected a fleet of boats to attack them," as they found Suetonius before to have done, "were half dead with terror and amazement, to see them stem their liquid fence and channel in that manner; and they immediately concluded," says my author, *Nihil arduum & invidtum sic ad bellum venientibus*, "That nothing could be too hard and impracticable to those who entered battle in that manner;" and therefore without more ado petitioned for peace, and yielded up the island.

Here it may appear somewhat plain, that the Druids, at least the chief of them, were all gone; no appearance of them, no uncouth ceremony, no amazing scene of invocations and odd gestures (which at the first taking of the island by Suetonius Paulinus took so much of the soldier's eye and of the historian's pen) now at all presenting themselves. For undoubtedly if the Druids, the common incendiaries of the people at that time against the Romans' religion and government, had been then in the island, they would have here shewed themselves—*pro aris & focis*—doing something remarkable in the defence of them. For it may be very probably supposed, that the quarrel was mostly against the Druids; who if they had been here, it cannot well be imagined, the historian would have omitted the mention of them—they being so principal a part and character of the action he records. Neither is it also to be thought, that the islanders would have so tamely petitioned for peace and so easily obtained it, if these men (the objects of the Romans' implacable indignation and hatred) had been then among them; who being

ing now gone probably bore the blame of all that was past, and the island returned to its former subjection and obedience.

Now the Romans having got once more possession of this island, we may reasonably guess they took all effectual means to rivet their conquest, and irreversibly fasten it, with the whole *Ordovican* territory, to the western province. The Roman General now, in all likelihood, traversed and viewed the country, and perhaps left some monument of his name, at or near the furthest western point of it, called * *Griccill*, as the Britons probably called him, i. e. *Agricola*; and established garrisons in two separate places of the island, viz. at the two *Castellions*—*Dominorum castra*—as the name imports; *Castell* originally importing a Roman *Fort*, and *Ior* being the ancient British word for *Lord* or *Governor*; the one part of the name being Roman and the other British, gives me grounds to guess that they were his first presidary garrisons, the one being near *Griccill*, that bears some umbrage of his name. And to confirm my conjecture, there is not far off there a place called *Bodior*, i. e. the Governor's Habitation; and another called *Preseddfo*, or *Presaddfed*, *Præsidii Locus*, the President's Habitation; and the other place was, I take it, in the other end of the country, near *Portbaethwy*, in the parish of *Llansadwrn*, called *Castellior*, where do yet appear the marks of an ancient fortress; and whether there be the like at the other *Castellior* I cannot say, having never been upon the place. Both these *Castellions* may be conceived, as being at two ends and territories of the country, to have served very conveniently to over-awe the several *Bôds* and townships of the island, and to enure their necks to continue steadfast for the future under the yoke and subjection of the Roman authority and government.

Thus the poor, and late famous Isle of Mona—*incolis valida*—never before that we hear of conquered by an enemy, was fain to put on the Roman shackles; under which it continued to groan some hundreds of years. But yet in this to be comforted, if there be any comfort in the loss of liberty, that she had her fetters put on by the two greatest Romans, next Julius Cæsar, that had ever trod on British ground; the former of them, viz. that Suetonius Paulinus who well deserved, and went once well nigh (if we believe Tacitus) to be chosen emperor; and the

* Near that place is *Rbas Colyn* or *Colofn*: The Romans usually erecting columns at the utmost bounds of their victories, as Dion. Cassius relates.

latter, viz. this Julius Agricola appeared so brave in all his actions, that he was equally feared and envied by Domitian; as if his laurels had spread and mounted so high, as to cast an umbrage on Cæsar's diadem.

In this condition I must now leave this poor island, when those grand instruments of Providence, the Romans, having now chased away her superstitious Druids, and unmasked her face of her ancient shades of heathenism, made thereby a happy undesigned way for the light of the gospel to shine upon it; and by subjugating the bodies, lives and fortunes of the Britons to Cæsar's sceptre, gave them an opportunity, which was shortly after taken, of bringing their souls to the obedience of Christ.

Now to add a few words of these Druids, before I conclude this section. If it be demanded, what became of them, of their orders and societies, when they were obliged to withdraw from the Isle of Mona? I answer, It may be well supposed, that having quitted this place where they so long presided, on account of the eager persecutions of the insulting Romans, these religious orders fixed and established themselves in some other place unconquered by the Romans, which must be Ireland, the north of Scotland, and the Scottish Isles; yet so, as that their chief seat and residence was in the Isle of Man, as the Scottish authors unanimously affirm: From whence, as before from the Isle of Mona, they extended their authority and exercised their jurisdiction over such of those Britons as would and could yield it submission and obedience. That they did withdraw themselves to some places out of the Romans' reach (and where could they in haste but to the places now mentioned?) is very plain from Strabo, an author of that time; who affirms, that the Romans endeavoured with might and main to chase away, and crush the religion of these superstitious Druids, but could not; they having cunningly slipped away and escaped their fury.

Now that this is no groundless opinion, but that it is so far true, that for many years after this time, those religious Druids and their orders were numerous in Ireland and Scotland, is apparent from many Irish and Scottish authors. First, in Ireland, their religion was in mighty vogue among the people, and their three mentioned orders were called Druids, Sanachies, and Bards. They were so numerous there in the days of St. Patrick, that it is said by their historians that he burnt
three

three hundred of their books. * Mr. Roderick Flaherty says the Druids made one of the three orders of the kingdom, and were signalized with a mark of honour on their garments, next that of kings and princes †. Nay farther, for more certainty in this matter, that they had been very numerous and common in that kingdom, the name of Druid is there still applied to a cunning fellow or wizard, whom they call in the Irish tongue *Dræoi* or Druid. And it is as certain that O-Donnel in his translation of the New Testament into Irish, calls the wise men of the East, Matth. ii. 1. *Dræoithe*, i. e. Druids; by which it appears that the Druids, before the Christian religion gave them another remove, were established, and of great authority in Ireland.

I own indeed that the Irish, even from remotest antiquity, had a set of Druids among them, planted there with some of the first British colonies; but by the accounts which the Irish antiquaries give us of them, they differed in many particulars relating to power and jurisdiction, and the use of writing, from the Gaulish and British Druids. Whether the Milesian colony which greatly prevailed in that kingdom, altered their primitive institution, or whatever else it was that wrought that change, I cannot say. However, their agreement in many things with our British Druids, and the very name of them, was encouragement enough to many of those who were expelled by the Romans from the Isle of Mona, to resort thither, and perhaps to incorporate with them; the Irish Druids by the bounty of their princes being then plentifully provided with lands and revenues, whereby they were well enabled to give these their old friends and new guests, a reception suitable to their case and circumstance, and what in their distress and calamity they most wanted, that is, subsistence and security.

So likewise in Scotland and in the isle of Man, Hector Boetius hath given large descriptions of the government and orders of these Druids, which many Scottish authors followed. The main of what he says, I shall deliver in the words of the reverend and learned bishop Spotswood, in his History of the Church of Scotland. “ Cratylinth, says he, king of Scotland, coming to the crown in the year 277, made it one of his first works to purge the kingdom of heathenish superstition, and to expel the Druids, a sort of people held in those days in great reputation. — They ruled their affairs very politicly; for being governed by a president who kept his residence in the isle of Man, which then was under

* Ogygia, p. 58. † Matthew Kennedy, p. 19.

the dominion of the Scots, they did once every year meet in that place, to take counsel together for the ordering of affairs ; and carried things so politicly and with such discretion, that Cratylinth found it difficult enough to expel them, because of the favour they had amongst the people.—In this Isle king Cratylinth, after the expulsion of the Druids, erected a stately church to the honour of our Saviour, and called it *Sodorense Fanum*, i. e. our Saviour's Church." So far he. Mr. Martin also in his late book of the Western isles of Scotland, very much confirms this opinion, both by tradition and monuments, and by several customs in those isles, still favouring of Druidish rites and practices ; and produces variety of instances betokening their being and residing in ancient times in those islands.

I cannot but observe here, that the Irish Druids had a form of letters very singular, which they used, as their antiquaries say, before the present ones : The alphabet whereof they called *Betb-luis-nion*, from the first three letters of it, *B, L, N* ; in which every letter, to the number of twenty-six, was called by the name of some tree in the wood, very agreeable to the mode and profession of that sort of men, so much conversant with groves and woods as the Druids were ; and the letters or characters they called *Feadda*, which with them signifies *Wood*, and the writing *Ogum*, of which they say they have many remains still extant among them. An occult and mysterious way of writing it was, peculiar to these Druids, by certain rods or virgular characters, and other marks and signs for syllables and whole words, distinct from the ordinary known letters, which required a particular study, so that the vulgar could not at all understand it. Mr. Roderick Flaherty, from the book of Lecan, explains the whole set of them. And whether our *Ogwyddor* or *Egwyddor*, i. e. *Alphabet*, perhaps compounded from *Ogum* and *Wydd*, which is *Wood*, the same with their *Feadda*, the other word *Ogum* being lost in our British tongue, may have any relation to this Irish form, I will not pretend to say. Or whether the *Ira letur*, *Irlandorum literæ*, mentioned by Arngrim Jonas, in his Runick alphabets, be the same with this *Betb-luis-nion*, having not seen them, I want information. However that be, we are pretty sure that the Gaulish Druids used in their private affairs the Greek letters, for Cæsar expressly says so ; which Greek letters, it is not unlikely, might in time and among our people degenerate into what we call the Irish or Saxon letters.

To conclude this whole matter. All I have said of these Druids, from first to last, will, I presume, fairly resolve itself into these three parti-

particulars. First, that these Druids had their chief seat and residence somewhere in Britain, of which Cæsar is a potent witness. Secondly, that this seat or principal residence was in the Isle of Mona or Anglesey, Tacitus and a strong tradition do fairly intimate. Thirdly, that after their expulsion by the Romans, they spread and established their hierarchy in the isle of Man, Scotland, and the Scottish isles, the Scottish authors unanimously agree, and amply confirm. And, lastly, that their removal out of the Isle of Anglesey to the Isle of Man was between the two descents of Suetonius and Agricola on this island. This last I gather chiefly out of the before cited passage of Tacitus in the life of Agricola; where the historian does not mention one syllable of these Druids, who when they were here, as in the other passage of Suetonius Paulinus, took so much pains in describing them. And though I am as cautious as any other in laying too much stress on a negative argument; yet I must confess, considering the punctuality of that historian's writing—never omitting principal characters, which undoubtedly those personages would have been, if they had been here—his saying nothing of them, is as much with me, as if he had said in express terms, that they had withdrawn, or were driven away by the Romans. Especially since I find it so taken by the learned bishop * Stillingfleet; who observes that the Arch-Flamens and Flamens in Britain under the Roman government, could be no part, as was generally believed, of the Druidish hierarchy; they being before gone, and their ways and methods mortally hated by the Romans: But rather as that learned and worthy prelate strongly proves, the Flamens and Arch-Flamens were a later invention of pagan Romans here, calculated by them after the form and model of our primitive church government, which they seemed for some reasons to have affected.

But to pursue our expelled religious countrymen one remove further. When Christianity made a closer pursuit of them than the Roman sword was able to do—captivated some to the laws of Christ, and put the rest on a second voyage, to find once more a place of rest and safety, to lay down one other new foundation of their ancient plat-form—I know not where to find them, unless it be in the Schaldry of Iceland, and their dependant classes and orders of old in the territories of Norway, Denmark, and other Northern countries. These not only in name, in which there is some congruity, *issel-dry*, the “lower or northern Druids”

* Orig. Brit. p. 79.

perhaps; but also in their * *Ira letur* and in their *Edda Islandorum*, as they call it, i. e. the poetical memoirs of their bards; and especially in their extant remains and monuments of antiquity, which have a very considerable affinity and coherence with what I have already described of our remains and monuments of Druidism. They have their *Crom-leche* like ours: There is a temple in Kialernefs in Iceland, not much unlike ours at *Bryn Gwyn*: Their erected altars, pillars, mounts, and burying-places, and ours, are much of a sort. And whoever would be more informed in these particular instances and parallels, may consult the books of Olaus Wormius and Tho. Bartholine, of the Danish antiquities, and he will find sufficient satisfaction on that head.

Let not the mention of these Danish and Icelandish instances invert the tenor of my argument, and turn the force of it against what I before affirmed in this matter; that is, give grounds to object, that if our monuments and theirs be so exactly alike, that it may then be as probable, that the Danes erected them when they lorded over us; and consequently that they are rather the marks of *their* religion and customs, than the remains of Druidism, which is indeed the opinion of some observers of late.

But in answer to this, I shall offer it to be considered, First, how very probable it is, that these Druids, who were expelled by the Christians from Ireland and Scotland, should repair to some of these northern countries, and there propagate their customs and forms of worship among these ruder heathens. For where should they go but thither? What other reason can be given of the congruity of many placits of the Runick religion with those recorded of Druidism, than that they had them originally from the British isles? None can doubt of the facility of their passage thither, who considers how the northern nations of old abounded with boats † and rovers. And this being granted, it will easily follow, that the rites or customs which those heathen Danes and Saxons brought hither of that kind, were but what their fore-fathers had be-

* The ancient inhabitants of these northern countries called one of their Runic alphabets, *Ira letur*, viz. Irish letters, as if they had had them from Ireland, whence our Druids were last expelled.

† It is not unlikely but that the Britons, with other northern nations, being strengthened and driven by the Romans into Iceland, and other isles of the North, might then pass over in these boats from those isles into Greenland, and thence into North America, and so people that continent, it being but a short cut over from Iceland to that continent, not above two or three days sail; and Mr. Joseph Mede, in one of his letters to Dr. Twiss, gives reasons of the probability of the peopling of America about this time, and in this manner.

fore taken from hence—a little mixed indeed, and metamorphosed in another dress. And then no wonder they erected here rings or coronets of pitched stones, for their public inaugurations; or rather applied those old ones they found here to that use and purpose. Might not *Stonehenge* and *Roll-rick* coronets be very well the relics of ancient Druidism, and yet fall in suitably enough with the use and performance of Danish consecrations? And after ages might well be supposed to mistake that second edition of their original uses for the first publication of them.

SECONDLY, in England there may be, I confess, some colour for ascribing those remains of antiquity to the Danish consecrations and customs. But in Wales, in the midst of some of the mountains of it, where not a few of these monuments are, and where it is not likely the Danes ever were, Who can reasonably attribute those erections to them? That elliptical ring or coronet of pitched stones between two great mountains near *Cefail Gyfarch* in Caernarvonshire—in number forty-two—is as likely to have been set up by the Danes, as are the pillars of *Tadmor*, or the pyramids of Egypt.

THIRDLY, let any one consider also what hath been before instanced of the undeniable analogy, and agreeableness of the ancient British names of some of our monuments, with what is recorded of the rites and usages of the Druids, in authors of much ancientier date than the time of the Danish depredations. *Cromlech*, *Cærem-luach*, and *Bryn Gwyn*, *Brein Gwyn*, are words of more ancient composition, than is consistent with the notion, that the parts of them were fetched from Syria, and here sodered together to express a late Danish barbarity.

But particularly let this very Isle of Mona be a convincing instance of the improbability of that opinion which would ascribe many of these erections and monuments to the Danish customs. The groves in it still retain their old British names; and also the many places before-mentioned betoken the distinct names and orders of the Druids, agreeable enough to the relations given of them by Strabo, Cæsar, Tacitus, and others. And together with those groves and precincts, we have multitudes of monuments in those very places which bear the names of those societies and orders. These places so named, and these monuments co-existing and bearing mutual relation to one another, as every one that knows them will grant they do, On what grounds can any man pretend to ascribe some parts and appurtenances of these places to Danicism, and not the rest? For if those groves and those places, in which these monuments are erected, and which evidently bear the

names of all the orders of that ancient sect, be Druidical, as those names do greatly import they are ; then it will follow by a very reasonable consequence, that those monuments are so too : And at the same time evince the improbability, not to say more, of that opinion, which would ascribe them to a Danish original. I find now what I have offered in this particular very much confirmed by the late author of the History of the Western Isles of Scotland, who avouches names and traditions in many of the Scottish isles, expressly agreeing with what I have here conjectured ; where many circular ranges of erected stones are to this day by the common people called *Druin-Crunney*, the Druids Circles, and generally believed to be their temples ; and several antient rites and customs conformable to their usages and practices before-mentioned, he there lays down, as undoubted matter of fact, and generally believed so ; to whose book, for more satisfaction in this affair, I recommend and refer the reader.

SECTION X.

Of the divisions and sub-divisions of the Isle of Anglesey ; and of the laws and customs of it, at the latter time of the British princes.

ANGLESEY is, and has been of very ancient time divided principally into three *Cantrefs*, and each of these into two *Comots* ; viz. *Cantref Rhoſſir*, *Cantref Aberffraw*, and *Cantref Cemaes*. The first contains *Menai* and *Tindaetbwy* : The second, *Malltraeth* and *Llŷŷon* : And the third, *Twrcelyn* and *Talybolion*.

I shall, First, begin with the etymology of the names of these divisions. Secondly, I shall account for the antiquity, use and application of them to the ancient British administration and government. And, Thirdly, for the quality and condition of those sub-divisions of *Tref's*, *Rhandir's* and *Gafel's*.

As to their names ; First, *Cantref Rhoſſir* is variously denominated. Some would call it *Rbôs-fair*, from a little church so dedicated, which stands near the head of the manor ; and some call it *Rbôs-Aur* or *Rbôs-ffair*, from a *Rbôs* near it, where it is said the *fair* was anciently kept : But to me it seems more probable that the true name was *Rbôs-bîr*, more anciently than any of the fore-mentioned names, proceeding from the natural propriety of the place, as original names generally did ; that long *Dorſum* or ridge of land, running from *Newborough* to *Mynydd Llwydiart*,

Llwydiart, ten miles in length, being on the top of it all heath or *Rbôs tir*; and when the country was generally woody, might be then all one bleak and barren *Rbôs* or heath, of that length; and this heath running through the two *Comots*, was probably called *Rbôs-bar*, and thence gave name to the whole territory or *Cantref*. The two *Comots* contained under this *Cantref*, are *Tindaetbwy* and *Menai*; of the former I have before accounted, and of the latter I shall give some account in the last section.

The second *Cantref* is called the *Cantref* of *Aberffraw*, and was so called from the *Ostium* or entrance into the sea of a small brook of that name, and called *Aberffraw*; where the latter princes of North Wales chose their principal residence; and has under it the *Comots* of *Malltraeth* and *Llison*. The *Comot* of *Malltraeth* is undoubtedly so called from the formerly quaggy and very dangerous sands bordering upon it; but the *Comot* of *Llison* has its name derived from a more obscure origin. I find it written in some ancient records *Llewon*, and am apt to think it was given at first to this territory, because it was the most western part of the island; the West being called in the ancient British, *Gorllewon*, or *Gorllewin*, as it is to this day.

The third *Cantref* is called *Cantref Gemmaes*, I take it, from *Cesifaes*, i. e. ridged or arable land; and the part of that *Cantref*, particularly called by that name, is the best corn-land in the whole country; and many other little territories in Wales, excelling in bearing corn, are called by the name of *Gemmaifes*. This *Cantref* has under it the *Comots* of *Twrcelyn* and *Talybolion*.

The *Comot* of *Twrcelyn*, I have observed in ancient manuscripts to be called *Tir Cybelyn*; which yet may not perhaps be its first and most ancient name, because not betokening (as the ancientest names generally did) any natural or local propriety, but the possessions of one *Cybelyn*, who was probably lord of those lands. And some think that *Talybolion*, the other division of it, had some reference in the sound of the word, to Suetonius Paulinus, who first conquered this island, and brought it to the Roman subjection; it being very probable that the Britons called this Paulinus, *Pol-lion*; as is observed by Mr. Edward Lhwyd, of a place called *Pant y Polion*, near which he took up the inscription of one Paulinus, who probably was slain or buried at that place. And though it must be confessed, that *Tâl* in the old British properly imports a region or territory, and this Suetonius Paulinus, or in the language of the Britons, *Polion*, having signalized his name in this

island, might very well have appropriated to himself the possession of some part of it; and thereby have given occasion to its being called ever after, *Regio Paulini*, i. e. *Tal-Polian*; yet that great person having had no long time here to enjoy the fruits of his conquest, and the place being too inconsiderable for so great a man, I am rather inclined to believe, that as certain territories in Cumberland are called Cope-land, *ab acuminatis collibus*, as Mr. Camden observes, so this name might be derived from the many bleak and coped hills which are in that territory called *Moelion* or *Moelydd*; of which one or two retain the appellation of * *Moel* to this day. On which account I think it probable (such bare-topt hills being called *Moelion*) that therefore this *Comot* abounding with those hillocks might then be called *Tal y Moelion*; and consequently that (the letters *M* and *B* being of one organ, easily convertible one to another, and promiscuously pronounced in our tongue) it might so come to pass in tract of time, that *Tal y Moelion* came to be called *Tal y Bolion*; as *Moel y don* is now commonly pronounced *Bol y don*. And for further confirmation of it, we have one bleak hill in this country called *y Foel*, and the territory adjoining it, is called *Tal y Foel* to this day.

Now as these *Cantrefs* are divided into six *Comots*, so these *Comots* contain each of them about sixty *Trefs* or townships; which were also divided towards the latter end of the British government, into about five thousand tenures, i. e. *Gafel's*, *Wele's* and *Rbandir's*.

SECONDLY, As to the antiquity, use and application of these divisions; it cannot be denied but that the general partition of Wales, and consequently of the Isle of Anglesey, into *Cantrefs* and *Comots* is very ancient. And if that reading in Tacitus—*Præsidium imposuit vicis*—be the right one, and means our *Trefs* or townships; I can scarce forbear concluding our *Cantrefs* or hundreds (they being but numeral denominations of our *Trefs* and townships) to have been in use among the aboriginal Britons, long before the coming of the Romans into these countries.

For though that sorting and ranging of *Trefs* and townships into hundreds and *Cantrefs* may seem with some probability to owe its origin to the Roman model, as being but a copy or imitation of their ancient classical distributions into tribes and centuries; yet on the other

* It seems that the land here was all woody, when they called and distinguished some eminences that had no wood upon them by the name of *Moel*; i. e. bald-tops or hillocks.

side, who knows but the *Aufonii* and *Hetruschi*, the ancestors of the Romans, did rather derive and borrow that mode and platform of dividing their land from our ancestors the *Celta*; and that their *Tribus* and *Centuria* are the same with our *Trefs* and *Cantrefs*. And I dare appeal to any critick in those antiquities to judge, if the Latin *Tribus*, both in sound and signification answering our *Tref* (*B* and *V* or *F* being labials of promiscuous use in our ancient words) can in its own, or any other language fix on so proper and agreeable a derivation, as from the *Celtish* or *Gaulish* *Tir-es* or *Tref*. But however that be, we may justly conclude, that those were reckoned and called so, before the Romans had any thing to do with our constitution and government; and that principally on these reasons.—

FIRST, Because it is in itself a very natural and just distribution, for so many lesser households to make one *Tref*, and so many *Trefs* to make up one separate and distinct division or *Cantref*. And as this is a most fit and accommodate proportion, for a plebeian administration, so it may be concluded to be very ancient, if not to have been the very first and original constitution amongst us. Secondly, we find the ancient Irish, who were branches of our British origin, and among whom the Roman power never prevailed, to have had the same sort of division of their country as we have, i. e. into *Cantrefs* and *Carrachts*. Thirdly, we meet with some passages in Cæsar and Tacitus, which give accounts of such centurial divisions among the Gauls and Germans, before ever the Romans got footing in any part of their country; and therefore what our next neighbours, especially the Gauls, used of this sort, may be justly presumed to have been practised also, among the ancient Britons. And, Fourthly, it is sufficiently known that the Roman policy very seldom or never attempted the alteration of the original and ancient forms and usages of their conquered provinces, except where great provocations made them root out the natives and establish colonies of their own. Which alteration of our most ancient laws and customs having not, by any thing that appears, been ever enforced by the prevailing Romans in this Isle of Mona; one may very well conclude that our divisions of *Cantrefs* and *Comots*, are of a much older date, than the Roman government. And altho' this distribution of lands into *Cantrefs* and *Comots* may be of much ancients date, than that of the Roman or perhaps of the Druidical government; yet it is probable, the victorious Romans made use of it, not only in their civil and martial administration, as it is made use of to this day, but also in their distinguishing of
feudal

feudal rights and proprieties ; as it continued to be used after the Romans forsook us, thro' the whole time of the British government.

Now to conceive rightly the nature and use of these divisions, and the parts of them, we are to observe, that as *Gantref* or hundred in the right notion of the word, betokens an associated union and confederation of as many *Trefs* or townships as the word imports ; so for a more regular dispatch of affairs and conveniency of assembling together, these *Gantrefs* are each of them sub-divided into two or more *Comots* : And these *Comots*, as they are themselves but parts and divisions of the said *Gantrefs*, are commonly (but very improperly) called hundreds, as the hundred of *Menai*, the hundred of *Malltraeth*. Yet as they consist of so many *Trefs*, *Bôds* and townships, as are comprehended within one common precinct, so have they held from very ancient time, as so many petty lordships, their separate courts and jurisdictions : And as such, they may be well said to have been the preservers and conveyers down of our most ancient usages to this day ; and to be the very channels wherein the many streams of our national customs were thro' a long tract of time carried to us from their original fountains ; and which now, since the union of the English and British governments, have met together and united into one body of our common and municipal laws.

And these ancient laws and usages of ours thus conveyed to us, having in their frame and composition so little affinity with the Roman law, and having also in the administration and execution of them, so necessary a dependance upon, and connection with these centurial precincts and divisions, may seem to give good warrant to conclude, that these ancient laws and customs so conveyed down, as well as these little precincts and hundreds in which they were conveyed, were long before the Roman government among us ; and so continued without much alteration, till they came to be swallowed up and incorporated into the English laws and government.

But as to the possessionary part of these ancient divisions ; as they were originally in themselves separate precincts and jurisdictions ; so under the Roman administration they might become very useful and accommodate proportions and dividends, to be as the government thought fit, disposed into several feudatory rights and possessions. And such indeed we find them to have been, that is, the inheritances of princes and nobles during the continuance of the British government ; as is obvious to any one, who is acquainted with the transactions of the British history.

Thus

Thus the victorious sons of *Cunedda Wledig*, a *Cumbrian* prince, came to be possessed of several *Cantrefs* in Wales, and left their names on them to this day; which undoubtedly were these mentioned separate precincts before, and called afterwards by other names. Thus Roderick the Great divided all Wales by a distribution of these *Cantrefs*, into three provinces, viz. *Gwynedd*, *Debeubarth* and *Powys*, and disposed of them to his three sons. And we may reasonably presume that the late British princes have thus created their nobles, by giving them the feudal possessions of *Cantrefs* and *Comots* with their jurisdictions and powers, on terms of homage and subjection.

THIRDLY, To understand the quality and condition of these ancient divisions in the British state and government, it will be necessary to lay down a summary representation of the sundry sorts and different proprieties of these *Trefs* and *Villa's*, of which the *Cantrefs* consist; that is, to see on what terms of subjection and dependance on their immediate lords and princes, these particular tenures were established; and how they were disposed and managed to the support and safety of the British government. Which being well seen into and considered, may give us some glimmering light into the form and model of our ancient British administration.

Now here it must be confessed, that in the long space of some hundreds of years, since the dissolution of the British government, our nation being inexcusably remiss and incurious for the information of posterity, the memory of the true state and condition of that government, especially of the more popular part of it which relates to these mentioned divisions; might for us have been utterly lost and perished.

But as a just reproach to our wretched oscitancy and remissness, what our own careless neglect omitted, the covetousness of our more watchful conquerors took care to record and preserve for us; that is, the English monarchs when they got themselves seized of the last remains of our British royalties, and found or made themselves intitled or interested by descent or conquest, to the ancient revenues of our British princes; these English monarchs, I say, as well to inform themselves of the state of those revenues, as to secure the utmost benefit of their conquest, judged it advisable then to issue out commissions of inquiry under their royal seal to every *Comot* of North-Wales, with commissioners appointed to search into, and examine the true state of the ancient British tenures, and the former customs and usages thereof.

These

These commissioners by the authority of the power they were intrusted with, summoned and impannelled juries of the most substantial men in every hundred or *Comot*, and gave them in charge to make due returns in writing, upon oath, of the true state and circumstance of every tenure; as those tenures stood bound to the prince, and had not before been granted over, in *Frank-Almoine* or otherwise, to other proprietors; as indeed many tenures in several *Comots* were, of which therefore we have at present very little account. At the same time, or little after the first commission of this sort, the Bishop of *Bangor* took out another commission in like manner, to enquire into the tenures of the bishoprick; which extent I have seen with Dr. Humphreys, late bishop of *Bangor*.

Now these juries having faithfully discharged their duties, by what light and information was then produced before them in those particulars; and the returns and verdicts made by them, being of record, and fairly written, were taken by the commissioners in every *Comot*; and in this part of North-Wales were sent and delivered up by them into the prince's exchequer at Caernarvon, to be there carefully and safely kept and recorded. From these verdicts it is that we now have the best lights into some parts of the frame and constitution of the British polity, and other particulars of that government, which otherwise would have for ever lain in the dark; or at least we should have been far to seek for them. And indeed for what light we have from these records, we ought to be much obliged to the generous care and industry of that very worthy and deservedly celebrated person, Sir *William Gruffydd* of *Penrbyn*, knight, and chamberlain of North-Wales; who preserved these records from perishing, by collecting so many of them as he could retrieve from moth and corruption; and then causing those scattered rolls and fragments which he could meet with, to be fairly written by one *Jenkyn Guyn*, in two large books of parchment, for the information of posterity. One whereof is that book, kept always in the Chamberlain's-office, called by the name of the Extent of North-Wales; and the other he transmitted into the Auditor's-office at London, where it is preserved to this day. Of this book there have been many entire-copies written, which are yet in many hands; and some in parcels, of particular counties; which deserve to be more narrowly searched into and examined than generally they are; out of which, and a few other remains of antiquity, in order to account for the

the ancient divisions of this island, I have taken up and collected these observations following.

FIRST, We have thence to observe, that the * British princes and other lords of particular territories, were owners *in capite* of all their lands, and sovereign lords of all their subjects and bondmen; unto whom these princes and sovereign proprietors distributed several townships and hamlets, or particular tenures or *Gavels* of those said townships and hamlets; which *Gavels* they generally called *Welc's*, i. e. seats or dwellings: These, I say, they distributed to their bondmen and subjects, by way of martial disposure, to be enjoyed by these vassals and subjects on such terms and conditions, as those lords and princes who bestowed them thought fit to impose; and with such privileges and degrees of right and liberty, as they found those men, either by descent or merit, to deserve. And those men they called either freeholders or vassals, and the lands and tenures so given, either freehold or villanage; being all equally tenants to their lord or prince, but in regard of these privileges dispensed to them in the first disposal, they were in different degrees of freedom or vassalage.

SECONDLY, We have thence to observe, that these townships were distinguished by them, in respect either of quality or quantity. In respect of quality, we find that these *vills* or townships were either wholly free or wholly bond; or partly free or partly bond. And we may observe also, that of the bond and native townships—*Terra Nativæ* the Extent-book calls them—there were some lands of greater freedom and some of less, or of none at all; and their possessors or tenants, I mean of the first sort of villanage, called themselves *Nativi Liberi*, i. e. Free Natives, or the better sort of vassals; as the others of the second sort were called *Puri Nativi*, Perfect Slaves. In Ireland, much the same division of tenants, viz. free and bond, subsisted; as is mentioned by Sir James Ware and others in their accounts of that kingdom.

But the wholly free townships and freeholds were in themselves from their original constitution, such as gave their possessors a rank above other tenants; qualified them, it seems, for offices and employments, and gave them seats and voices in courts of judicature; from which privilege of sitting *aloft*, higher than the other tenants in their *Gorseddau*, and of assisting in passing of judicial decrees and sentences, the tenants

* Y Brenhin biefydd tir y dygwau oll. See *Howel Dda*.

of those freeholds were generally called *Urbelwyr*, that is, men of principal rank in the *Tref* or township.

On the other side, we find that the tenants of bond-lands and villanages, as they were of a quality below and inferior to freeholders, so they were obliged to greater drudgeries, and employed in more servile works, and were to be disposed of in many things as their lords and princes pleased to use them. And of these, some (as I observed before) were free natives and some pure natives. The free natives I take to be those who had some degree of freedom, who might go where they would, might buy and sell, and had many immunities; but the pure natives (as they were called) were the peculium of their proprietary lords and princes, to be disposed of as they listed. And I remember to have met in Sir *William Gruffyth's* book, with an extract of a deed, where the natives of the township of *Portbaetbwy*, many years after the time of the British princes, were sold as part of the estate of those lands they belonged to; and of which, and others of that sort, I have given elsewhere large instances. And I have by me a copy of injunction issued out by Henry the Seventh, king of England, commanding escheators and all other ministerial officers to see that the king's native tenants kept within their common limits; and if any of them were found to stray and wander from their home, to drive them back, like beasts, to their pin-folds, with the greatest severity.

THIRDLY, In regard of extent and quantity; these *Trefs* were some of them entire and undivided; and some disjointed and severed into parcels and hamlets. Some *Trefs* were large and capacious, consisting of many *Wel's*, seats and families; as these again of *Rbandirs* and *Gavels*, measured out by *Boviats* and *Carucats*. And some *Trefs* were narrow and scanty, consisting of fewer of these divisions; as these did of fewer *Carucats* and *Boviats*.

It is observable also, that these *Trefs* thus qualified and distinguished, and likewise the several partitions and sub-partitions of them, as they happened by gavel-kind, escheats, the gift of princes, or any other ways to be divided, were all of them obliged to the prince, or under him, or by derivation from him, to their immediate lord or chief proprietor, by certain fixed and determined ties and conditions, rated and established, it seems, at the first disposal of these tenures by the prince or other lords of the fee; and to be punctually observed and performed by those tenants and their successors, to their succeeding lords and masters.

Now

Now all these bonds and ties whereby all holders of land in the British state, were indispensably obliged to the prince their landlord, were, as we may observe out of these records, of divers sorts, which I reckon to be these, viz.

First, RENTS.

Secondly, SERVICES.

Thirdly, DUTIES.

Fourthly, MULCTS.

Fifthly, ATTENDANCES.

By these the prince's wants in every respect were supplied, and the people had enough to make a plentiful subsistence : By these too the people engaged the love and enabled the protection of their prince : And by these the prince sufficiently secured the people's loyalty and obedience.

R E N T S.

FIRST, Rents : Some of these were paid in ready money, and some in goods and cattle. What were paid in ready money, were paid either at fixed and certain times, as the four quarterly payments, and the two half yearly ones ; or were paid uncertainly, and by casualty, as *Releefs*, and *Herriots* : These were small sums of money now, though great then, ascertained and rated on all those particular tenures that were conditioned to pay them.

What also were paid in goods and cattle, are either certain quantities of corn, at certain times in the year, as a set *quantum* of wheat, barley, oats, &c. which very often occurs in the Bishop's Extent-book ; or *Staurum Principis*, which many *Trefs* were obliged to pay ; and that was a certain number of oxen and cows, at the end of the year : As it frequently occurs in the King's Extent.

As for what they called *Tunc-rent*, it is properly referrible to those sums paid to the prince at times limited and certain ; it often occurs in the Prince's Extent, and seldom or ever in the Bishop's Extent-book. It was a sum payable by four villain-townships in every *Comat*, five shillings *per annum* on those *Trefs*, cessable on every *Gavel* or tenure, and collected by the *Goslegew* or serjeant of the manor. And so *Escuage*, when it was rated and certain, was a sort of *Soccage-rent* ; but when uncertain and casual, it was no other than military or knight-service, as I found it observed in * *Gwydyr*-copy, among other useful remarks on the Extent of North-Wales.

* Sir John Wynn's copy of the Extent of North-Wales.

It is to be observed in this place, that as originally some rents were fixed and rated on all tenures whether free or bond, and on all tenants; whether freeholders or vassals; and that those were of that sort which the English laws call soccage-rent or tenures; so the difference lay chiefly in the different grants of the supreme disposing power which the prince had over those lands and tenants. As to the freehold-lands, the tenants or freeholders of them had a legal right thereto, on the before-mentioned conditions, but forfeitable in certain cases (as I observed before) to the prince or lord of the fee. But as to the villanages, the bond-tenants thereof, whom they commonly called *Villains* or *Vassals*, had no property in the lands assigned to them, but merely occupancy, and possession during the prince's or lord's pleasure; and they were but as slaves, to be placed here and there, as it pleased their lords and masters to dispose of them; yet mostly with this regard, that the rents charged on those *Villain*-tenures were fixed and certain, and payable, as the rents of freeholds were, on fixed and certain days of payment, which appears in every part of the prince's Extent-book. On this account it was that when the English monarchs possessed the rights and revenues of the British princes, they could not without manifest wrong dispossess the freeholders, because upon our submission to the English sceptre it was otherwise stipulated; but as to the villanages and lands of *Vassals*, they soon made bold to take them into their own hands; because to slaves, that is, to such as have no right, no wrong can be done: And then they let out those lands on leases, as they did their other crown-lands; still confining themselves to the old rents; but enhancing their benefit from them, by augmenting their tenants' fines as they saw occasion.

And these sorts of tenure were they, which afterwards came to be called King's-Lands: All which, with other lands that accrued to the crown by escheats, forfeitures, and dissolution of religious houses, &c. are now almost all sold here to private families; I mean the improved rents of them; but the old rents of them, being unalienable are still paid yearly by the present proprietors at the Auditor's-office; as the other freehold-rents are or ought to be annually collected, in every township by itself, by some one deputed by the Auditor to receive them; and in order thereunto, to give acquittances in discharge of what they so receive, upon the collectors shewing their warrant and the roll or record of the hundred subscribed by the jury thereof on the last survey made.

made; by which roll it was to appear what every tenant was to pay, and on what lands they were to levy it.

Here give me leave to make one further remark, not unuseful on this subject; which is, that some may be apt to wonder that two or three shillings may, with any propriety of speaking, be called the rent of so much land as they are usually paid for. But that wonder will soon vanish, when they consider that two or three shillings were, at the time these lands were so rated, in intrinsic value, more than so many pounds sterling in these days; as I want not clear evidence to demonstrate. And though I am as unwilling as any to advance a proposition that may seem strange, yet in this matter, it is not so strange as true, that if gold and silver come to appear above ground yearly in such prodigious quantities, during the two next centuries, as they have done the two last—the property of those metals being to last for a long time, and in the using not easily wastable—the intrinsic value of so much gold or silver as makes two or three pounds sterling now, will dwindle and diminish one half; that is, will buy no more goods at two hundred years hence, than what half the sum of those metals will now do. The reason will hold good on both sides: For if there be now twenty times more silver and gold in Europe than was two hundred years ago; as we presume there is, and provided the increase of these metals advances proportionably during the next two hundred years in these countries, it will follow that the intrinsic value thereof must decrease, for the next two hundred years in the same proportion; so that twenty shillings then will be but as ten shillings now: Because the gold and silver of Europe, if it comes up, and be imported here in the same proportion, and the exportation of it prevented by law, will be forty times more at that time, than it was two hundred years ago; and therefore it comes down to half the value; for it is apparent that the intrinsic value of all goods rise and fall in proportion to the plenty and scarcity of them. It matters not in this case, whether these metals in a kingdom or state be coined or not; for when the state or kingdom is possessed of it, it is easily on occasion made current, and is so to be reckoned the cash of that state or kingdom; and the value of lands and goods must ratably increase, as the intrinsic value of gold and silver falls and diminishes.

S E R V I C E S.

SECONDLY, Services: Under this head is to be reckoned a great deal of what the several *Trefts*, or the particular *Gavels* and tenures of every manor

manor were obliged to do. To the well conceiving whereof it will be necessary to premise, that in every *Cantref*, generally, the prince had a manor-house, his chapel, mills, offices, and other conveniences; to every one of which, and that in several sorts, the services of tenants were severally adapted.

The head-manor, or the place where the manor-house or *Llys* stood, was usually comportioned into several *Gavels*, laid out to tenants for private and domestic services. The tenants or possessors of such lands were in many places called, *Gwyr Mael*, *Gwyr tir y porib*, and *Gwyr gwaith*. The tenants of the rest of the *Comot* were some of them obliged to repair the walls, some the hall, some the chapel; and some of them to do other necessities and appendages of the prince's palace, or the chief manor-house of the *Cantref*.

Besides these also, there were in every *Cantref* some tenants who were tied by their tenures to carry stones, some to carry corn, some to repair the roof, some the walls, some the water-course of this mill, and some others of that mill; some to carry the *Mabere*, as it is there expressed; by which, I take it, they meant the great stones*, and the great timber, of this or that mill. Some also were obliged by their tenures to repair weirs, some to carry wattles and brush-wood, some to hedge warrens, and some to attend the offices of the larder and kitchen, as every where occurs in the prince's Extent-book.

As to the mentioned distinction of *Gwyr Mael*, *Gwyr Gwaith*, and *Gwyr tir y portb*; I take *Gwyr Mael*, to be either the prince's local guard, obliged to arm themselves, to watch and ward about the palace, answerable to the castle-guard-tenure among the English; or perhaps they were only such as had some small wages allowed them for their work, as there occurs the mention of several tenants in the prince's Extent-book, who had a penny *per diem* allowed them. The *Gwyr gwaith* were such as were to work on their own costs. And the *Gwyr tir y portb* were such as were obliged to do, on the prince's corn-land, the usual work and service incumbent on them. Of this last sort the Bishop's Extent makes frequent mention, but not by that name.

Now *tir y portb* I take to be *terra pastus* in its true signification; that is, such lands—and generally they were the best—as the princes reserved in every manor for the corn-provision; and such in many places have been called *Cemmaes* or *Cefn-faes*, as I before observed, viz. ridged

* The great timber, not the great stones. *Macrumium*, or *Maherumium*, is an old law term for any sort of timber fit for building, derived from the French *Mercime*.

or ploughed land : Which distinction was very proper, when the country was generally wild and woody. And these *Cemmaes's*, of which there are several in Wales, are always reckoned the best corn-lands in their territory.

Thus in the manor of *Rbafir*, the dividend or portion of land assigned to that use was the township of *Celleiniog*, also called *Maes y portb*, as one part of it is so called to this day ; which *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth*, prince of North-Wales, bestowed as provision-land, as he did also *Bodgedwydd* or *Trefod Gedwydd* in the *Cantref* of *Aberffraw*, on the abbey of Conway. Both which places were afterwards by the monks of that house called, the one *Quirt* or *Quart grains*, and the other *Quirtau* ; they being both applied and made use of by that convent, with some difference of condition, to the same ancient end and purpose.

D U T I E S.

THIRDLY, Duties : Under this head I comprehend the several suits and courses, which many of their tenants, both free and bond, were obliged to perform :

First, *Seſſa ad Curiam*, i. e. appearance, when summoned, at the prince's court ; which without great peril none durst refuse.

Secondly, *Seſſa ad Hundredum*, i. e. to appear, when summoned, at the court of the Hundred or *Comot* where they lived.

Thirdly, *Seſſa ad Comitatum*, i. e. appearance at the County Court. This was formerly their great court of Common-Pleas, and of great authority, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole county. And is to this day under the king's substitute, the sheriff of the county, of consequence ; wherein matters of the greatest moment, relating to the county, are transacted.

Fourthly, *Seſſa ad Molendinum*, that is, to grind at such and such a mill, paying grist-toll, *ad trigesimum vas*, the thirtieth part, which was then very considerable, when the repairs were all upon these tenants, who yet were obliged to pay that toll. And some of these tenants who were not concerned with the repairs, were yet obliged to make and clear water-courses, and to carry several things thereunto, especially the prince's own corn.

Fifthly, *Seſſa ad gwerram* ; they were obliged to array and follow the prince to the war : This was a general duty, where the nobility and commonalty were to attend, when called upon. And the same in that case, was the duty of every tenant to his immediate lord or nobleman ; *ire*

cum domino ad gwerram sumptibus propriis; that is, to attend their lord, engaged in the war, some for a limited time, and to a limited place, but some indefinitely to any place, at their own proper costs and charges. This latter duty, where it was so peremptory and indefinite, was then called *Gwaitb Milwyr*, that is, a sort of knight-service.

Secondly, under this head I reckon also the *Cylchau* or the courses these tenants were bound to undergo. In this I must confess there is at this time no small difficulty to give a determinate account what they all were, and how by the prince or his officers they were used and managed. They are in the Extent of North-Wales thus expressed and reckoned.

1. *Cylch Stalon.*
2. *Cylch Rbaglon.*
3. *Cylch Hebogyddion.*
4. *Cylch Greorion.*
5. *Cylch Dowrgon.*

These were duties incumbent on particular tenures, to be performed by the tenants or possessors of them at certain turns and courses, according as those lands were originally stipulated for, and conditioned to undergo. On some, one or two of these duties; on others, more were incumbent. Towards the explanation of these courses, I shall offer the following conjectures.

First, it seems to me very probable, that in those ancient tumultuous times, when buildings were very mean, and frequently demolished by the rage of wars;—that in those unsettled times, I say, provision was every where made, when lands were to be disposed and cantoned into *Gavels* and tenures, for the support and maintenance of the numerous retinue that was of necessity to serve the prince and to attend his court.

On this provision, and in this manner established, the prince's officers and servants were to subsist. And as our prince's court was then rather ambulatory and shifting from manor to manor, than fixed and settled to any certain place; so into what *Cantref* or manor soever he came, and for some time resided, the tenants of that manor, by a reserved power as before-mentioned, were particularly to take in and provide for such and so many of the prince's officers and servants, as their *Gavels* and tenures of lands, so given out to them and to their ancestors, obliged them to do.

And

And thus I conceive that *Cylch Stalon* was the receiving and entertaining of the prince's grooms, and feeding so many of his horses, for such and such a time, among such and so many of the tenants of the manor he resided in, as were particularly bound to the performance of that duty.

So likewise it is probable, that *Cylch Rbaglon* * was the entertaining the prince's *Seneschal* or steward, among such and so many of the tenants, (for we must know that as well freeholders as bondholders were tenants) who were obliged to receive them, each in his turn. And this is express in the Bishop's Extent-book, where you may find that his *Seneschal* was to be entertained, for so long a time as their custom obliged them to do; and also the bishop's horses or *Garreons*, so called there, to be fed and provided for, during the same, by several of the bishop's tenants.

That *Cylch Hebygddion* was, after the same manner, the entertaining and providing for the prince's falconers and his hawks. This is easily to be gathered out of the King's Extent-book of North-Wales, in *villa de Pennarth in Comitatu Carnarvon & passim alibi*. So it is also to be gathered out of those records, that *Cylch Greorion*, as it is called, was the providing for and entertaining by turns (every tenant for a limited time) the keepers of the prince's live-stock and cattle; such I suppose as were designed for the slaughter, for the provision of his family, when he resided in their manor. And this duty, it seems, came afterwards to be commuted into certain payments of money, called *Arian-Greorion*, which often occur in the Prince's Extent.

But lastly, with respect to that *Cylch Dorgon* or *Cylch Ddwrgon*, which occurs very often in the Prince's Extent-book, and incumbent on very many free *Trefs* and *Gafels*; what is meant by it, I think is not easily determinable.

It seems with some likelihood to relate to the prince's huntsmen, and his dogs; which the tenants were likewise obliged to take in and provide for by turns, as often as the prince made any stay, or came to hunt in any *Tref* or manor. This I think is made out somewhat plain from a passage in that fragment of the *Moelmutian Laws* mentioned in *Howel Dda's* book, in the latter part of it, where *Trefs* are distributed into *Maenols*; of which the author of that writing affirms twelve ought to be in every *Comot*: Whereof four, says that old law, ought to be, *I feibion cillion*; that is, as Dr. Davies explains the word, in villainage or

* *Rbaglon à Rbaglaw.*

vassal-tenure †. And the use of those townships was, as it is there expressed, *I bortbi Cwn, a Meirch, a Chlych, a Dofraitb*, viz. to receive and provide for the prince's dogs, his horses, his hawks; and by *Dofraitb*, we are to understand all servile drudgeries which these *Tref*s were bound to do. And so that old law concludes, that in that manner the prince was to order his court, and to dispose of his retinue and servants in every *Cantref* or *Comot* he came into; which I take to be the meaning of those words in that law—*Ac yn y Môdd bynny y dyle y Brenhin westfa bob blwyddyn*, i. e. and in that manner was the prince to go about or visit his manors or *Cantref*s every year.

Neither is it unreasonable to think, considering the smallness of the prince's manor-houses and buildings, which he had generally in every *Cantref*, and which were but sorry habitations then; I say, it is not at all unreasonable that his great household and retinue should be thus distributed by turns and changes amongst his tenants. But how long these turns continued at a time, or how oft they returned, I cannot say: But do suppose that when the prince's court came to any *Cantref*, he having a manor-house for the most part in every one, the tenants of that manor were, as before-mentioned, obliged to keep and maintain the prince's servants, while he made his stay in the said manor; and when he removed to another manor, it is likely the tenants of the last manor he resided in were eased of their guests. And it is probable that when the prince did not, or could not come at the usual times among such tenants, that they were then obliged to pay in lieu of it, a sum of money, which was therefore called *Arian Gwestfa*; which Dr. Davies on the word *Gwestfa* explains thus—*Summæ pecuniarum quas subditi soluebant principi, pro eo quod ipsum & suos, in transitu, sua quisque vice in hospitium excipere tenebantur*; that is, “A sum of money which the tenants paid to the prince, instead of entertaining him and his court by turns, as he went about on his progress.”

It is remarkable here, that the ancient Irish laws seem to have been much of a sort with ours in this case, by their *Brebons* and *Bonachts*, their *Coigne* and *Liveries*, their *Cosherings* and *Ceffes*, and their *Cuttings* on their tenants, claimed and exacted by their lords and princes; as appears at large in Sir John Davies's book of the State of Ireland. Which is a further argument of the original agreement between the Irish and old Britons, in their forms of government, as well as in their

† It should rather be translated—“Sons of aliens or strangers.”

language, and many other particulars ; betokening their being once one people, or having at least a great intercourse and communication between them.

M U L C T S.

FOURTHLY, Mulcts : Of this sort we find not many incomes to the prince, fixed and rated upon any particular tenures ; only *Gober*, *Amober*, and *Obediſw*. The other mulcts, whereof there were a great many, as may be observed out of the books of *Howel Dda*, were casual and not local penalties, inflicted but in particular cases, on a few personal transgressions.

Amober, or *Am-wobr*, *Ammobrogium* in the Bishop's Extent-book, was a mulct payable on certain *Trefſ* and *Gafels*. It was generally ten shillings, and on some places but five, *Pro ſæminarum Scortatione*, for womens' incontinency. And there are some who affirm, that it was anciently a fine paid to the prince or lord of the fee, at the marriage of a vassal's daughter. See Dr. Davies's quotations on that word.

Obediſw * was a sum of money rated on several *Trefſ*, and payable to the prince or chief lord, as the mortuary for the death of a tenant ; and this was sometime called *Obediſw Dietifedd*, where a sum of money was payable to the prince or lord for a tenant dying without issue. This is sometimes called *Relevium* or relief-money, paid to this day to the prince by the tenants of several lands ; though it be expressly remitted in the charter of North-Wales.

But for *Gober*, I have good grounds out of the Extent of North-Wales to affirm, that it was that which was paid to the prince or lord for the marriage of a vassal's daughter ; which was most commonly ten shillings. See the Extent-book in *Villâ Treddeſtennydd* in Angleſey. A relic, it seems, of ancient heathenish barbarity, commuted in time of Christianity to a sum of money, and therefore called *Am-wobr*† ; being a suppletory mulct, payable to the chief lord of the place, instead of that barbarous custom of deflouring his vassal's bride. Many of these payments are now remitted by the charter of North-Wales, granted to the Welsh by king Henry the Seventh.

* This is the same with *Abediſw*, *Ebediſw*, and *Darid*, in Angleſey, *Harid*, where the best beast of the tenant's at his death, is due to the lord : *Anglica*, Herriot.

† *Gober* and *Amober* are two distinct mulcts ; the former being a fine paid to the lord on the marriage of a tenant's daughter, or on her committing the act of incontinency : The latter, a payment made to the bride's father or guardian, for his consent.

ATTENDANCES.

LASTLY, Attendances: These were an obligation on the great ones to their sovereign prince. I call it attendance, because it was the condition of a fee or honour, as service was the condition of inferior tenures. And this attendance was of sundry sorts, according to the several occasions of the prince, both in peace and war.

The persons thus obliged were generally the prince's nobles, lords and barons, and therefore this attendance of theirs is sometimes called baron-service. And these lords and great men had likewise under them, both tenants of freeholds and vassals, over whom they were lords in fee. And it is here a question, perhaps worth enquiry, whether there was before Edward the Third, any such thing as fee-simple in Wales, except only in these noble and feudatory possessions? Of this sort was *Llowarch ap Bran* of *Porthamel*; *Hwfa ap Cynddel* of *Presaddfed*; *Tegerin ap Carwedd* of *Llwydiarth*; *Eneon ap Gwalchmai* of *Trefeilir*; *Cadrod Hwrdd* of *Bodafon*, and others in their time of this country, who had trusts and offices both martial and civil conferred upon them, and also titles, honorary and ministerial; all depending on these conditions.

Thus * *Hwfa ap Cynddel* of *Presaddfed* held his estate in fee, by attending on the prince's coronation, and bearing up of the right side of the canopy over the prince's head, at that solemnity. And the bishop, they say, held somewhat by his peculiar office of crowning him, and by being his *capellanus primarius*, his principal chaplain. Most of the prince's lords and nobles were bound to particular attendances by those land-conditions, besides what they were in general obliged to, as subjects by homage and fealty; which conditions under pain of banishment (which sort of punishing was then most in use) and forfeiture of their estates, they were bound to perform, when duly summoned and called thereunto.

On this account, I conceive, it was that the three sons of *Tudur ap Gronw* of *Trecastell*, viz. *Edryfed* of *Trecastell*, *Gronw* of *Penmynydd*, and *Rbys* of *Arddreiniog*, were in their time called the three temporal lords of Anglesey; as the *Penclas* of *Holy-Head*—i. e. *Pencolas* or president of the collegiate church there;—the arch-deacon of Anglesey; and the prior of *Penmon*, were the three spiritual lords. Their tenures, it seems,

* *Yr Hwfa bwn a'i Eristfaddion bynaf a wisgant y Dalaiib am ben y Tywysog, gyda ac Efeob Bangor; ac ar y dydd cyntaf y cyffegrid y Tywysog yn y Dalaiib, yr oedd i Hwfa y pâr dillad a fai am y Tywysog, wrth wisgo y Dalaiib am ei ben; a byn oedd wsfenau Hwfa ap Cynddel. Vide Lewis Dwn, Gloddaib copy, p. 53.*

being

being baron or knight-services, and anciently intituled to some of those martial or ministerial attendances, encouraged them, for preservation of their ancient rights and customs, to take on them those titles and call themselves knights or lords; as the story of one, who indeed was father of these mentioned temporal lords, is remarkable, in Mr. Robert Vaughan's book concerning that particular. These sorts of Welsh lords were they that paid homage for their lands and estates in fee, to Edward prince of Wales, at Chester, in the time of Edward the First. See *Caradocus Lancar*. Mr. Wynn's edition, p. 310.

There were in Anglesey, and in other countries, certain tenures and lands, which were held of neither prince nor lord, but of certain saints or patrons of churches; where we find, as appears in the Prince's Extent-book, the tenants of those lands call themselves abbots. Of which saints or church-patrons, there were seven in Anglesey that were intituled *in capite* to several tenures, viz. St. Beuno, St. Cybi, St. Cadwaladr, St. Peirio, St. Cyngar, St. Macutus or Mechel, and St. Elian. The last of these, viz. St. Elian, had a great deal of lands bestowed on him and his church for ever by *Caswallon Law-bir*, sometime prince of these countries, as appears by an ancient charter under the name of *Caswallon*, but how authentic I cannot say; which yet has been inspected and confirmed by some of the kings of England. Most of these churches, as I observed in an ancient manuscript, had in ancient times their *Nawddfaau* or sanctuaries established in them: Which gives me grounds to guess that one of the conditions of those tenures so bestowed on them, was to maintain and support those places of refuge, and the persons protected in them; and to see that their privileges and immunities, with other rights thereunto belonging, were from time to time preserved and kept inviolate.

To conclude this section; I here take leave to say, that the reason which induced me to collect these brief remarks on the state and condition of our *Cantrefs*, *Comots* and townships, with their subordinate divisions in this isle of Anglesey, was, that by them we might have some light and inspection—*ex Ungue Leonem*—into the frame and constitution of our ancient British government. And what I have gathered out of these mentioned verdicts, I take to be unexceptionable testimonies and evidences of what I have offered in relation to those smaller divisions; being the reports of the most substantial men in every *Comot*, made upon oath, and taken out of the best assurances, of ancient men, records, and tradition—and that too in the very close and setting of that ancient

ancient British government; which (as all other sublunary things have their determined fates and periods) was forced to lay down her ancient claims and pretensions, and submit to the more peaceful and happy forms of a well-tempered English establishment, under which it has now for some ages happily continued.

SECTION XI.

The most remarkable occurrences in the Isle of Mona, from the time it was subdued by the Romans, and the Druidish hierarchy was dissolved in it, to the time the British sovereignty was established at Aberfraw, where the history of Wales begins, to which I refer the reader for further accounts of it, during the reigns of its successive princes, to the time it was made subject to the crown and laws of England.

HAVING in some of the foregoing sections accounted for the first planting and possessing of this Isle of Mona by the ancient Druids, and the surrendering of it afterwards into the hands of the prevailing Romans; and in the last, for its ancient divisions, and the distribution of them into sundry sorts of rights and possessions; it will not be, I presume, unuseful, if I briefly touch in this on some of the most remarkable events and overtures relating to this Isle, from the conquest of it by the Romans, to the time it was made again the seat of sovereignty under Roderick the Great. Of which time, the overtures I shall take notice of will be of two sorts, civil and ecclesiastical; and will be distinguished under two periods. First, from the Romans' conquering the Isle of Mona, to their deserting it, and with it the whole isle of Britain. And, Secondly, from that desertion, to the time when the British sceptre was established at *Aberfraw*; which in some measure may clear the way to the Welsh history, which commences about that time, and gives many accounts of this island of Mona.

In the first interval, history indeed affords us very little certainty in relation to this isle, save only that as a principal part of the *Ordovician* territory, it had a garrison of Roman soldiers established in it by Suetonius Paulinus—*Præsidium imposuit vicis*, as *Tacitus* reports—which was soon ruined by the Britons, as I have before-mentioned. Yet this isle being a place of considerable consequence, as being the chief retreat of the *Ordovices* or North-Wales men, we may well presume that some time after, when Julius Agricola had retaken and completed the conquest

quest of it, he likewise established garrisons in it. And though history be silent, as to the particulars of that transaction, yet the propriety and import of the names of certain places, may be justly taken to supply that defect. By the evidence of which we may guess the two *Castelliors*, situate near the two ends of the island, to have been the seats of those standing garrisons. And not far from each of these we find also two places called *Pen Efcyns*, importing chief ascents, with some analogy to our *Gorsedd*s; as if in these two precincts were then established also their usual præsidary courts of justice, for the administration and government of the island. And *Preseddjod*, i. e. *Præsidis Mansio*, now called *Presaddfed*, may seem to have been the residence of the *Præses* or its chief governor. For it is probable, being an island, that it had a separate government of its own, for some time at least.

Whatever these Roman establishments at that time were, we are sure this Isle of Mona, with the whole *Ordovician* territory, became afterwards part or member of that province, which in the general division of Britain by the Romans was called *Britannia Secunda*; and had a president of its own to govern the affairs of the province; and had also two legions established on the borders of it; viz. one at Chester, called *Valens* or *Victrix Vigesima*, which title of that legion might give occasion to the Britons to call that place *Caer Lleon Gawr* *; that is, the station of the mighty and valiant Legion, as by the many and great feats it had done here and elsewhere, it deserved to be called:—And another at the other end of this province, seated on the river *Wisk*, called *Britannica Secunda Augusta*. Both these legions were advantageously seated to awe and keep under the *Ordovices*, the *Silures*, and the *Dimetæ* (which were so many unions and confederacies of petty lords and sovereigns, who at first had given the Romans work enough) and to hold them in to their due obedience and subjection.

As a part of this western province of Britain, called, as I said before, *Britannia Secunda*, this Isle of Mona—having now submitted to the Roman yoke—must be believed to have had the same fate with other countries that were members of it, in paying of tributes, and sending what levies of men it could afford, to serve abroad in the Roman armies and garrisons. And perhaps in respect of this latter or personal thralldom, the inhabitants of this island were a little happier than many of their

* Our author runs here, after Mr. Camden, into a mistake. For this place, according to all our British writers, was so called from its first founder *Lleon Gawr*, the son of *Bontas Darianlas*.

fellow-vassals in the more inland parts of the country; where draining of marshes, paving of boggs, raising of cause-ways, levelling of port-ways, building of castles, palaces, temples, public edifices, and other servile drudgeries, employed the hands and wasted the strength of abundance of poor wretches: As the noble *Galgacus*, in his pathetic speech to his Caledonian army (recorded by Tacitus) says they were in many places compelled with stripes and hardships to undergo.

For indeed in all this Isle of Mona we find no tokens of that sort of slavery; no remains of palaces, baths, temples, great castles, and other Roman works, that may be thought to employ the natives of it; except we reckon under that head, the great cause-way or bridge near *Holy-Head*, called *Pont Rbyd Pont*, and the many fisheries or those enclosures of great stones, raised in many nooks and angles in the sea round the island, especially on the shore of the river *Menai*. And this sort of work I take the more probable to be Roman, for that I frequently find those *stone-weirs* in our ancient * deeds to have been called *Gurgites*, a name undoubtedly the Romans gave them—as being generally made in creeks and eddies that draw and swallow in, and therefore called by them *Gurgites*, and corruptly by the Britons, *Gorgit* or *Gores*, a name they retain to this day—as having been first built at the command and by the direction of the Romans, some of them with great toil and labour. Yet this island seems to have been a place of some considerable repute, especially in the more peaceful times of the Roman empire, as appears by the many medals that were from time to time taken up in this island, and from the abundance of their coins, gold, silver, copper, brass, that were and are daily here and there dug up in it. Not to mention the probability of greater quantity of these Roman coins being taken up in former ages, when more of them were to be found; I have myself seen (of the number of such as we may well presume were taken up lately) coins of many of the emperors, and of some of the Cæsars, from Caligula to Valentinian the Second, taken up in this island, which comprehends all the time the Romans governed here. And of some of them whole pots full were lately found, and great numbers of Carausius's,

* *Johannes Hammond, &c. dedit & concessit Willmo ap Gryffyth ap Gwiliam unum tenementum meum cum omnibus terris meis in Villa de Bodva in Comit. Anglesey, &c. ac etiam quartam partem Eiconomie ac Dominio Episcopi & Capituli Bangor in Comitatu Meru, Malleruath & Llewon in Comitatu Anglesey: nec non partes meas in Gurgitibus sive piscariis Villa de Treuorion in Comitatu Carnarvon, pro Sexaginta solidis Sterlingorum, prefato W. G. G. solut. quæ quidem Tenam. terc. Eiconomie partes in Gurgitibus sive piscariis mihi devenimus ex parte Marvred uxoris meæ quæ fuit uxor Ednyfed ap Tudor, &c. Dat apud Bodva, xix. die Septemb. Anno Hen. 4. Primo.*

Allectus, Constantius, Constantine—father and son, Constans, and of Helen the empress. All which must needs argue that the place was very much frequented by the better sort, when it had such quantities of Roman coins lost and buried in it.

All this wealth of the place, of which these coins are so many testimonies, proceeded either from the plenty of corn and other provisions it afforded ; or from the singularity and pleasures of the place, and other conveniencies of it, inviting perhaps many of the Roman gentry of the neighbouring countries, and not unlikely many of the officers of the legion at Chester, to come and divert themselves in proper seasons, with fishing, hunting, and catching of wild fowl, which may well be supposed to have brought this money into it. And if it abounded with corn, fish, and wild fowl, as we have reason to presume it then did ; we may as justly presume, that when affairs began to be settled, and laws to be observed, it grew again wealthy and considerable : It being near enough to vend its commodities by sea to the legion at Chester, whose consumption of provisions must be much more than this small island could afford ; and yet far enough from it, not to be harrassed, abused and pillaged, as their too near neighbours frequently were, by the insolent soldiery. On which account, and by its being removed out of the way of oppression, this isle may be well thought, after the first devastation was over, to have enjoyed great plenty ; and to have borne its yoke, when once accustomed to it, with greater ease and security, than many of its fellow-subjects in the more exposed parts of the nation.

In this interval also, this island enjoyed the greatest blessing it ever had since it was an island. Almighty Providence was now in mercy pleased to discover to it the knowlege of Christ crucified ; whereby tho' for the punishment of their sins he had subjected the bodies of those poor natives to the dominion of the Romans, yet for the glory of his great name, he at the same opened them a way to release their souls from the vassalage and tyranny of Satan, under which they had so long groaned during the darkness and errors of Gentilism.

Now in accounting for this great affair, I cannot with others, forbear lamenting here the misfortune of our nation, in having the precious records that were to convey to posterity the memory of this great work, all destroyed by the ravages of the barbarous Saxons, when we had the good fortune to have the Gospel preached to us in the earliest years of Christianity, even before Rome itself. And our complaint herein is the more just, in that it is too much to be suspected, that this execra-

ble villainy was perpetrated by the instigation of Romish agents, envious of our earlier conversion, after the coming over of monk Austin, to pervert our purer faith, and to lay on the ruins of our ancient church the foundation of the papal grandeur and tyranny.

For a little before the arrival of this monk Austin, we find Gildas, the most ancient British author we have now extant, positively affirming it of his certain knowlege. And what knowlege, properly so called, could he have, but from undoubted records preserved to his time, and perused by him, probably at *Bangor*-monastery, where he studied, and was a member of it? * Which place, with all its books and records, it is too well known, was burnt and ruined, and about one thousand and two hundred of its monks inhumanly butchered by the Saxons, on the persuasion (as it is much to be suspected, from his having before threatened in a sly prophetic way our bishops with it) of that wicked Austin. The loss of other records he bemoans indeed; but of those relating to the affairs of the church, he is positively sure. *Tempore ut scimus summo Tiberii Cæsaris*—"We know"—he does not say it is reported, there is a tradition or the like; but upon assured warrant, the records being full and certain, their authority not in the least questioned, but owned by all. He says, "We know that in the latter end of Tiberius Cæsar's reign, when this island lay frozen by its distance from the visible sun, Christ the sun of righteousness, the true sun, not from a temporal, but from an eternal firmament, was first pleased to communicate his rays, that is, his precepts, to our inhabitants, held fast, by some with more or less fervency, to the hot days of Dioclesian."

Who it was that was meant by Gildas, by whose coming the light of the gospel shone in Britain in the latter end of Tiberius's reign, is quite lost from the memoirs of the Christian church. And whether the ancient tradition of Joseph of Arimathea, who might then well transport himself to Britain in one of the Phœnician ships that frequently traded for tin, and so carry with him the first tidings of Christ, has any foundation in truth, (not heeding the Glasterbury story of it) is equally uncertain. Yet it seems very probable, that that honourable person, soon after the ascension of Christ, conveyed himself away from the Jewish sanhedrim, of which he was a member, to some remote country, for fear the Jews should question him about Christ's body, which he had buried, but had rose up from the grave he had laid it in: Which must

* We have no authority at all to say that Gildas was a member of *Bangor*-monastery.

be a fear well grounded, and a just occasion of his withdrawing himself somewhere out of their reach; and that he did so is very likely. For a person of his character and merit, if he had staid in Judea during the ten succeeding years after the resurrection, would in all probability have met with an eminent mention even in the scripture, either for his death or his conduct in propagating the gospel. For though the first propagators of it did not turn to the Gentiles for the space of ten years after that, yet I see not how it can infer, or what should hinder, that the light of the Christian doctrine, even in the time which Gildas mentions, could not be conveyed and discovered to us; since it is sure that their great commission from Christ's own mouth was, "Go ye and teach all nations," without any limitation of time or place, only beginning at Jerusalem, which might be done at any time. To this may be added, that what was transacted at the Pentecost seems to warrant the doing it, at any time after, especially in remote countries where no Jews were, and where any one of the disciples of Christ did arrive, in order to do it. But whether Joseph of Arimathea or some other person did it, Gildas in his way of writing seems positive it was done before the death of the emperor Tiberius. By which account, if granted to be true, it will appear that the gospel was brought to and preached in Britain, even before it was at Rome itself by some years; which is a point not to be given up by us, without an evidence as early and express at least against it as this of Gildas is for it, which has not yet appeared. For it is not so much as pretended by the Romanists that St. Peter, who, they own, brought first the faith of Christ to Rome, arrived there before the second year of Claudius's reign, which was at least five years after the death of Tiberius, and after it was brought to Britain: Which serves to shew that the British church in its first rudiments, was senior to that of Rome by so many years. And as some evidence of the truth of this mentioned tradition, it is well known that the kings of Britain and their bishops challenged and were allowed precedency in great synods and other solemn conventions by many of their neighbouring kingdoms, on account of their having received the Christian faith before others in these western parts of the world; by which it appears it was no groundless tradition upon which they built that claim.

Now besides what Gildas hints to us in this passage, and was no doubt well known in his time; we have other testimonies that come near it in foreign authors (which neither the malice of Rome, nor the barbarity of heathens could destroy) left yet remaining; which probably

were but what those foreign authors collected out of our British records ; or rather received from the mouths of some of our British clergy at Arles and Nice, where some of them resorted to synods *, and might be well presumed to give the other bishops there an account of the primitive state and planting of the British church, agreeable to the records we preserved of it. By which testimonies in general it appeared, that the evangelical light was brought to the isles of Britain, and to the utmost bounds of the West, by some of the apostles themselves, and others sent by them.

FIRST, By some of the apostles : It is reported that St. James, the son of Zebedee, with his mother Salome, came into Britain to give tidings of Christ about six years after the resurrection : And also that Simon Zelotes came to *Britannia* about four years after, teaching Christ, till he was taken up and martyred by the magistrates or Druids, who were then of great authority among the people. Some say that St. Peter was also in Britain, to which Gildas seems to allude in his *Sedem Petri*, &c.

SECONDLY, By apostolical men, or men sent by the apostles. It is affirmed by those testimonies that Aristobulus, the brother of St. Barnabas, was sent by St. Paul and St. Barnabas to *Britannia* to be their bishop about the year of our Lord 51. Of the twelve companions of Joseph of Arimathea, the monks of Glaftenbury have so deformed that tradition with their absurd fables, that their story of it deserves little or no credit. But of all the foreign testimonies we have of that affair, the strongest and best grounded, and on which I chiefly insist, is that which tells us St. Paul travelled to the British isles and established a church therein : Which implies that he ordained presbyters and deacons here under Aristobulus, or some other, whom he appointed bishop over them, in order to set forward that important work of converting the British people to the faith of Christ, which indeed in a little time gained considerably upon them.

This coming of St. Paul to the British isles, and as Eusebius mentions (though he names him not) to the utmost corners of the West, is owned on all hands to have been after the fourth year of Nero, at which time he was set at liberty in Rome. And being to make his journey westward, it is not unlikely that he was influenced and engaged by that

* There were out of Britain at the council of Arles three bishops, one priest, and one deacon. The bishops of York and London, and the bishop of a colony, probably of *Caerleon*. *Lloyd's Hist. Chur.* p. 72.

noble British lady Claudia Rufina, his convert, and at whose house he was entertained, to proceed directly to Britain to her countrymen and relations to preach unto them the word of life; which it is probable he arrived at, Anno 59. For it is supposed that St. Paul came into Britain some time before Suetonius Paulinus was sent to be governor of Britain; which was Anno 60 or 61. Of which coming of St. Paul to the British Isles an ancient Christian poet writes thus:

*Transit Oceanum, vel quâ facit Insula portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque Ultima Thule.*

Venantius Fortunatus, lib. 3.
de vita Martini.

Now since we are pretty sure from the best foreign authorities, that St. Paul came himself to Britain about the time now mentioned; and if he came, no doubt is to be made but that he planted a church in it (if none had been planted before) as he did in the many countries he came into; and if he planted a church in it, it is as doubtless that he ordained a bishop, presbyters, and deacons, who, together with other devout converts, were instructed by him to proceed in carrying on the work of the gospel to the utmost corners of the land, if he did not himself go there: Then, I say, it may come well to be enquired, whether some of those presbyters at least, or some other holy men before, did not travel to the Isle of Mona before it was conquered by Suetonius Paulinus, and preached the gospel in it. This is indeed what no one can positively affirm: But if we consider that the Isle of Mona was the utmost western isle of Great-Britain, to which utmost western bounds the gospel is said to have been preached by him; that it was also the principal seat of the British Druids; that those Druids governed the consciences of the people; were great moralists and adorers of one God; and consequently that the gaining them, or some of the chiefest of them, was a ready way of converting the whole nation; and indeed, excepting their human sacrifices and diabolical * magick, they were, as to life

* This magick of the Druids, or one part of it, seems to have remained among the Britons even after their conversion to Christianity, and is called *Taisb* in Scotland; which is a way of predicting by a sort of vision they call Second Sight: And I take it to be a relic of Druidism, particularly from a noted story related by Vopiscus, of the emperor Dioclesian, who, when a private soldier in Gallia, on his removing thence, reckoning with his hostess, who was a Druid woman, she told him he was too penurious, and did not bear in him the noble soul of a soldier; on his reply, that his pay was small, she looking stedfastly on him, said that he needed not be so sparing
of.

life and conversation in many points, almost half Christians to their hands.—Considering all this, I say, we have some grounds to think that the first steps of some of those holy men were bent towards it, and made no long stay till they came into it: Considering also a little farther, that the power of life and death, in point of law and judicature, was vested in these Druids; that one of the seats of judgment whereon they exercised that power by acquitting or condemning, as I have before shewed, was in the Isle of Mona; that a medal of our Blessed Saviour was taken up out of the rubbish of that very mount or tribunal, where their sentences and judgments were pronounced; that seeing it was taken up in so obscure, unfrequented, and desolate a place as now it is, and I believe ever since was, none can well doubt of its being true and genuine, the circumstances of thing and place considered; that bearing on it a Christian inscription, importing, “This is JESUS CHRIST the Mediator,” it must be supposed to have been brought there by some Christian; that the Druids’ authority was quite dissolved here, and their persons routed away by the Romans at the conquest of this island, and consequently no further judging and condemning of criminals at this mount or consistory; all this will shew that that medal must be dropt there before the demolishing of it by Suetonius Paulinus. And lastly, the conquest of this Isle of Mona happening about seventeen years after Simon Zelotes is said to have preached the gospel in Britain, and about two years after St. Paul planted a church in it, we may on these considerations be inclined or at least have room to think, that one or other of those holy men, those devout planters of Christianity, did come to this Isle of Mona, preached or offered to preach the gospel in it, and

of his money, for after he should kill a boar, she confidently pronounced, he would be emperor of Rome, which he took as a compliment from her: But seeing her serious in her affirmation, the words she spoke stuck to him, and he afterwards took much delight in hunting and killing of boars, often saying when he saw many made emperors, and his own fortune not much mending, “I kill the boars, but it is others that eat the flesh” Yet it happened that, many years after, one Arrius Aper, father-in-law of the emperor Numerianus, grasping for the empire, traitorously slew him, for which fact being apprehended by the soldiers and brought before Dioclesian, who being then become a prime commander in the army, they left the traitor to his disposal, who asking his name, and being told that he was called Aper, i. e. a boar, without further pause, he sheathed his sword in his bowels, saying, *Et hunc Aprum cum Cæteris*, i. e. “Even this boar also to the rest;” which done, the soldiers, commending it as a quick extraordinary act of justice, without further deliberation saluted him by the name of emperor.

I bring this story here in view, as not improper on this hint, nor unuseful to be observed, because it gives fair evidence of the antiquity of the Second Sight, and withal shews that it descended from the ancient Druids, as being one part of the diabolical magick they are charged with; and upon their dispersion into the territories of Denmark and Swedeland continued there, in the most heathenish parts, to this day, as is set forth in the story of the late Duncan Campbell.

perhaps

perhaps lost his life, with this medal, at the place it was taken up, before ever the Romans set foot upon it; verifying in part what Tertulian, an age after, relates of the sudden progress of the Christian faith among us, viz. *Britannorum loca Romanis inaccessa, Christo vero subdita*—i. e. “The Christian doctrine anticipated the Roman sword in the celerity of its conquests, and reached where that had not.” So much swifter were the wings of the dove, carrying the joyful tidings of peace on earth and good will towards men, than of the Roman eagle bringing war and desolation among them.

But after the subduing of this island by the Romans, there is no room to doubt that the word of life was plentifully bestowed upon it; it being by the wise adjustment of Providence the signal advantage of propagating the Christian faith, in having the minds of people, at the season of offering it to them, extremely distressed and intenerated, as they were then, by a world of calamities and oppression—*afflictio dat intellectum*—than which nothing could more fit and prepare them to receive and embrace it. Add to this, the Druids being then on a sudden all driven away or destroyed, or not daring to appear, the minds of people were left free and at greater liberty to take in the comforts of the gospel, which are always welcome to the grieved and afflicted.

On this opportunity, we may well conceive, the gospel soon took footing, and by degrees prevailed in this island, as it did in all this western province; which we find in about an hundred and fifty years after almost all Christian, and making an ecclesiastical province, with an archbishop at *Caer Llion* on *Wisek*, and suffragans under him. Having had many years before then, that is, Anno 182, as the learned Primate Usher affirms, a school of Christian learning, to supply the province with clergymen, founded at *Bangor iscoed* in Flintshire, which became afterwards that so much noted and famous monastery of *Bangor*. But what number of bishops the said archbishop of *Caer Leon* had at first under his jurisdiction, or to what diocese the Isle of Mona belonged is uncertain: *Bangor* and St. *Asaph* dioceses, the nearest to it, being not founded till after the Romans deserted Britain, and the Saxons had driven the Southern Britons to Wales. It is indeed generally conceived that after the manner of the Eastern churches, there were seven bishops under the archbishop in this province. And it is not unlikely that the seven partitions or classes of clergymen, which venerable Bede mentions to have been in the renowned monastery of *Bangor*, were so many distinct communities peculiarly appertaining to those seven suffragan churches;

churches; whereof some had bishops with seats endowed, and some had theirs consecrated *sine Titulo*; as we find Sampson the disciple of Iltudus and abbot of *Llangarmon* to have been so ordained by archbishop Dubritius, as Primate Usher observes. And indeed the same learned prelate also says, that in this interval, viz. Anno 364, one *Cebius*, son of Solomon duke of Cornwal, was consecrated bishop by St. Hilary of Poitiers, and was seated in this Isle of Mona as bishop thereof, at a place called from him *Caer Cybi* to this day. But I fear *, if the genealogy we have of our British saints may deserve any credit, that that great and learned person was out in placing him so high in time, as to be contemporary with St. Hilary bishop of Poitiers. For the said genealogy makes Solomon the father of *Cebius* or *Cybi*, to be great grandson of Constantine duke of Cornwal, who next succeeded king Arthur in the British throne, and who was contemporary with Gildas Badonicus about the year 550. But whether of the two is in the right, John Tinmouth, from whom the archbishop seems to have had his account, or the genealogy I mention, I shall not pretend to determine; only I shall observe here, that our St. *Eliau*, surnamed *Cannaid* †, i. e. the Bright, by Latin writers called *Hilarius*, who was contemporary with *Caswallon law hir*, who ruled in this Isle of Mona about the year 450, hath been often mistaken by many for St. Hilary bishop of Poitiers.

As it does not appear that the bishops of North-Wales (unless we allow of this account of *Cybi*) had any peculiar seats before the erection of *Bangor* and St. *Asaph* into diocesan sees; so neither can we find that the clergy in general, during this interval, had any distinct cures or parishes to reside in, but lived together with their bishops on the emolument of the church in collegiate bodies, as those seven partitions or communities mentioned by Bede at the great convent at *Bangor*, in all likelihood, were to attend to reading and praying; and in obedience to their bishops, to go to such districts as were allotted to them, to perform the offices of their function, as occasion required. And as to what is there said by Bede, of their living in that monastery by the labour of

* To remove our author's fear it may be observed, that we have a tradition even to this day, about this *Cybi*—that he used to meet St. *Seiriol* weekly at a place called *Clorach*, near *Llanerch-medd*, where there are still two wells bearing their names; and because of *Cybi*'s being continually with his face to the sun going and coming, and the other the contrary, they gave them the surnames of *Seiriol rwyd a Cybi felyn*. Mr. Rowlands places *Seiriol* in the year 630: And the great grandson of him that lived A. D. 550, might also live in the year 630. So that this tradition and our ancient genealogies agree exactly.

† By our British writers he is called *Eliau Ceimind*. He was the son of *Alltud Redegowg*, i. e. the Swift.

their hands, it may have reference only to their lay-brethren, of whom they had great numbers; and if they had not, it does not yet argue that they were not clergymen, but rather shews that at the first institution of that house, their order was, as generally in all those houses that were erected in times of persecution, so to do; however, afterwards when the church flourished, they might become better provided for, and live plentifully, without much labour, on the income of it.

And as it does not appear that the clergy had any settled distinct parishes in this Isle of Mona within the time of, or indeed in any part of the kingdom, till many years after this period; so we do not find that they had many churches, but here and there perhaps a few cloisters and oratories to assemble in, where the minister of the allotted district at set times came, as the custom was, to read and preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments. Or perhaps the tenants and vassals in many townships (for at that time there was no such thing as independant freeholds) were obliged to repair and assemble at the manor-houses and mansions of their respective lords and masters, who in all likelihood had their chapels for that sacred use and service. For by what remains to us of the records of these times, we find that most of the churches and chapels we have, were dedicated to, and called by, the names of such patron-saints, as were not born till after this period, excepting such of those churches as took on them scripture-names, as St. Mary, St. Peter, St. Michael, and the like. And if there were any public churches here within this period, it is very probable they were these mentioned. For we find the first Christian *Basilica* or sacred structures in other countries commonly dedicated to scripture-saints. But I leave this as doubtful and uncertain. All we can positively assert of this period is, that, as the Romans found us a place of wealth, and in full possession of the Druidical, so they left us in the free enjoyment of the Christian religion.

THE SECOND PERIOD.

THE Second Period begins with the sad and mighty confusions that happened among the Britons upon the recess and dissolution of the Roman government in Great-Britain, which was about the year 390, when Maximus of British race, to obtain the imperial purple, had

U

exhausted

exhausted and brought along with him into Gallia, the very flower of its native forces; and thereby left the isle of Britain a prey to the lust and rapine of every scambler. The Picts, who were the remains of the anciently dispossessed Britons, with the aid of their neighbours the Scots and Irish, thought they had good right to re-enter their lost possessions, which they soon did, and with their old pretensions to the whole land (looking on the southern Britons as a degenerate race, more than half Romans) they continued to make repeated inroads with lamentable desolations, into the very bowels of it, to try their title, and if possible to regain it.

In this contest, which Gildas describes with very moanful accents, there stood up to oppose these Picts and Scots, and to restrain their irruptions (for now walls and turrets with which we formerly secured ourselves, without Roman arms to defend them, were but a jest to these warlike tygers, greedy of changing their mountainous dens for more pleasant fruitful habitations) I say, there stood up two eminent families, who lay claim upon the abdication of the Romans, to the British sceptre. The one was descended from *Coil Godbebog*, and consequently nearly related to *Constantine* the Great, who was grandson of that *Coil*: The other family was headed by *Octavius*, grandson of *Asclepiodotus*, duke of Cornwall, who had been before chosen king of Britain, and slain by the said *Coil Godbebog*. Of the former mentioned family were the sons of *Cynetba Weledig* a northern prince, whose mother *Gwaawl* was sister to *Helen*, *Constantine's* mother. The Cornwall family some time after, under the usurpation of *Vortigern* one of that lineage, who invited over the Saxons to their aid, had great struggles with those very Saxons, who would fain have appropriated all to themselves. And after him, the same struggles went on under the successive reigns of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, *Uter Pendragon*, *Arthur* and *Constantine*, all of that family; till at length the said *Constantine* yielded the stakes, and retired to secure himself and the harrassed Britons that stuck to him, in his dutchy of Cornwall. In the mean time, the sons of *Cynetba*, on the other side, having driven away the Picts and Scots, who had invaded the Isle of Mona and the maritime parts of Wales, made head also against the encroaching Saxons. These sons of *Cynetba*, at that time, having left Cumberland and some neighbouring countries where they ruled, to the government of one of their family, retired into North-Wales, their grandmother's country, and seated themselves in the several divisions of it, as their names left on those places do to this day testify.

To these, thus settled, the poor *Loegrian* Britons *, especially their clergy, retreat for safety of their lives, from the rage and cruelty of the barbarous Saxons; where the driven Britons, together with the ancient inhabitants of the place, under the conduct of the princes of the *Cynebrian* family, made for a long time a noble stand against the encroaching attempts of the victorious Saxons, and secured all the ancient *Britannia Secunda*, now called Wales, together with Cumberland, and a great part of Cheshire, from the violences of these ravenous invaders.

The eldest of these princes, called *Encon Urdd*, or the Honourable, sent his eldest son *Caswallon law-bîr* to the Isle of Mona, to fight and drive away the Irish Picts, who a little before had forced the island, and near a strong fort called *Din Drysal*, had slain many of its inhabitants at a place called to this day, from the fought battle, *Cerrig y Gwyddyl*. At that instant *Caswallon* came seasonably with his forces to the island, fought and routed them; and at a place which the Irish had built, called *Llan y Gwyddel*, now *Holy-Head*, and where their fleet lay, killed *Sirigi* their captain with his own hands; then fortified the place, and so cleared the island of these piratical rovers, who by their frequent incursions had so long infested it. This *Caswallon law bîr* being the eldest branch of the family, chose his seat in this island, the ruins of whose court or palace are to this day to be seen near *Llan Elian*, called *Llys Caswallon*. And I have by me a copy of a charter of lands, franchises and immunities granted by this *Caswallon* to St. *Elian* and his successors; which has been confirmed to the tenants or freeholders of those lands by some of the kings of England.

The eldest son of this *Caswallon* was the famous *Maelgwn Gwynedd*, *Insularis* or *Insularum Draco*, as Gildas calls him, on account probably of his being born in this island. But others think he called him so, because he conquered the isle of Man and the Hebrides. He behaved himself gallantly in many battles, and was a terror to the Saxons. His court or usual abode was in Caernarvonshire, at a place in *Creuddyn* called now *Bryn Euryn* or *Llys Maelgwn Gwynedd*†, where or near which, many years after, *Ednyfed Fychan* a nobleman of Wales and descended from him, had his chief mansion-house. This *Maelgwn* erected the see of *Bangor* about the year 550, where a little before, *Daniel*, the son of *Dionotbus* or *Dynawd*, abbot of *Bangor-is-coed*, had built a college

* *Clerici & Sacerdotes macronibus undique micantibus ac flammis, omnes simul in exterminium pelluntur.*
Matib. Westm. ad Annum 586.

† There is a place called *Castell Maelgwn* not far from *Llan Elian*

for the North-Wales clergy, and became the first bishop of it: Into which prince *Maelgwn* had once some thoughts of entering himself a monk, and to take on him the profession of religion. But the charms and pleasures of the world, to which, as Gildas writes, he was too much addicted, soon choaked that good resolution in him; and he became, in the latter part of his life, a great libertine—for which he could not escape Gildas's pen, and from receiving thereby, for his proud lascivious living, very severe lashes—though in his public conduct he appeared to have been a brave man, and a noble magnanimous prince.

In the interim, the Welsh, as I must now begin to call them, having some respite given them by the conquering Saxons, their fury towards them being somewhat abated, and exhausting itself against one another for dominions and sovereignties; the Welsh, I say, began to fortify and make the best they could—having lost their more rich and pleasant possessions—of these mountainous countries they were left masters of. And indeed in this deplorable case of theirs, the more mountainous any country was, the more acceptable and the better liked by them; where every rock was a castle, every hill a fort, every wood, bog and river, a desirable defence and security; and above all, the desolate barrenness of the place gave little temptation to these now gluttoned Saxons, to expose their lives too far, and pay too dear for the purchase of it.

Among these natural advantages, which a people wrongfully dispossessed of their country were glad to meet with, the sight and position of the Isle of Anglesey, as I shall now call it, soon gave it preference to all other places of this Western part of the land, so as to have the capital seat of what remained of the British regal sovereignty placed in it, or on the borders of it. For I have already shewed that prince *Castwallon* had his seat in the island, who being the eldest branch of the *Cynetbian* family; and consequently on this side, chief sovereign of the Britons in the regal line, to whom the other little princes, commonly called kings in their own territories, paid homage and submission. But his son *Maelgwn Gwynedd*, and his grandson *Rhun ap Maelgwn*, being pressed upon by the Saxons, took up their abode on the borders of it, in *Caernarvonshire*, for better securing the passes of the mountains which secure the Isle: the one at *Creuddyn*, having a strong castle at *Diganwy*; and the other at *Caer Rhun*, whose name it bears.

And here we may observe, that as the ridge of mountains called *Snowden*, is a most strong and natural rampire, running in a somewhat bent line from sea to sea, with two rivers for a moat on the back of

it, discharging themselves to the sea at *Traeth Mawr* and *Conway*, as if nature, designing this Isle of Anglesey to be the seat of sovereignty, had stretched this arm of mountains, secured behind by these waters, to cover that neck of land where the Isle is situated, and consequently to be a wall and bulwark to it; so we find *that* very use to have been made of all the defiles and openings that give passage through that ridge of mountains, which as so many gates and avenues to come thro' them to this island, have been all strongly fortified with castles, towers and forts: As *Diganwy*-castle at the great opening at *Conway*; *Caer Rbun* at the pass of *Bwlch y ddau faen*, with a fort below at *Aber*; *Dol y felen* castle, and a watch-tower at *Nant Efrankon*; *Dol Badarn*-castle at *Nant Peris*; *Cedom*-castle or fort at *Nant tal y llyn*. And in the other broad pass from Merionyddshire at *Traeth Mawr*, they had two strong castles, viz. *Harllech* on the one side of the bay, and *Criccieth* on the other, with a watch-tower at *Castle Gysfarch*, and a fort at *Dolbenmaen*. All which are demonstrations that the Isle of Anglesey and part of *Caernarvonshire*, for the safety of which, all these passes were so strongly guarded, was on the first retreat of the Britons into Wales, chose to be the prime refuge in case of distress, and the chief seat of their monarchy. For we find *Cadfan* the grandson of *Rbun* (his son *Beli ap Rbun* dying young) to have resided at *Caer Segont*, now *Caernarvon*; where also *Cadwallo*, *Cadfan*'s son, who was so great a scourge to the Saxons, and his son *Cadwaladr*, the last of the British monarchs, successively resided. The great safety and security of the place, and the plenty of provisions which it afforded (the other parts of Wales being then frequently the seats of war, and therefore poor and uncultivated) induced these warlike princes to settle *bere* their courts and families, while they themselves pursued their wars; either annoying their enemies, as *Cadfan* and *Cadwallo* frequently did with great slaughter, or defending their own territories. And the reason that the latter of these princes removed the British court from Anglesey, where *Caswallon law-bîr* had first fixed it, to *Caernarvonshire*, was, I confess, because the Irish and Pictish rovers were then very troublesome to the coasts, against whom the island was less defensible than the borders of *Caernarvonshire*. But afterwards the royal seat was restored to the island, and continued in it at *Aberffraw* during all the time of the British princes.

Now in relation to church affairs within this period; as we have left this Isle at the latter end of the last period in the free and full enjoyment of the Christian faith, under its own bishop, if we will believe the

the recited account of *Cebius* and St. *Hilary* of Poitiers; or at least, as part of the North-Wales diocese, under one of the seven bishops of the Cambrian province, wherever his seat, if he had any endowed, was placed; so by all the accounts that appear, the faith and doctrine here professed and taught, continued pure and apostolical for a great part of this second period; when at length the Romish dregs, brought over by Austin the monk, crept here, and in a great measure corrupted the primitive soundness and integrity of it; but never to such a degree as in the other parts of the nation. For many of the Romish errors, then and after introduced into the British church and nation by the subtilty of Rome, were never embraced by the people and clergy of North-Wales, as appears not only by their rejecting that grand injunction of an unmarried priesthood—their clergy, as well regular as secular, being commonly married all along, and thought expedient to be connived at, and reckoned *pro vitio Gentis*, as a peculiar fault of this people; but also by their quick and unanimous embracing the doctrines of their ancient faith, of which they retained many remains amongst them, when the reformation restored them to the liberty of re-assuming and closing with their primitive principles, of which they have given remarkable specimens, in their loyalty to their kings, and in their adherence to their bishops, against all opposition, even to this day.

This infraction by monk Austin and his confederates on the doctrine, rights and privileges of our British church, which happened near the middle of this period, was resolutely withstood by all our British clergy; who till then generally resided together in conventual fraternities, under their heads and bishops; perhaps after the example the Druidish priests had left them; heathen politics, founded upon reason and virtue, not unbecoming Christian practice: And which way of living contributed not a little to the good success they had, by their united counsels and labours, against the then growing encroachments of their adversaries. The British nobles here, however spotted in their lives and morals, as angry Gildas unmercifully upbraids them, yet as men of principles shewed zeal and vigour in the cause. Nay their very bards employed their talent that way, as we find *Taliesin*, *Maelgwn's* Poet Laureat*, even at Austin's first coming (for he could not be alive much longer) denouncing woe on such of the clergy as were remiss in their duty, and neglected any part of it, in so perilous a time; when, with

* Of this we have no proof.

their temporal, their spiritual rights were in danger of being made a prey to the avarice and rapine of unjust invaders.

*Gwae'r offeiriad byd, nis angbreiffia gwyd
Ac nis Pregetha.*

*Gwae ni cheidw ei Gail, ac ef yn fugail
Ac nis areilia :*

*Gwae ni cheidw ei ddefaid, rbag Bleiddie Rbifeuniaid
Ai ffon gnwppa.*

(i. e.)

* Woe be to the priest that's born,
Who will not duly weed his corn,
And root away the tares ;

Woe to the shepherd that's remiss
In watching of his flock, and is
Unfaithful in his cares ;

Woe be to him that doth not keep,
With's crooked staff, his harmless sheep
From Romish wolves and snares.

All this they performed with good success while they continued together in united societies ; but after that fatal blow at *Bangor iscoed*, where the flower of our clergy were killed on the spot, and the remainder of them dispersed up and down the countries ; the poor church indeed for some time struggled, but like a consumptive body, whose vitals were impaired, it staggered at last, and was forced to give way to corruption and ruin ; under which (like the woman in the wilderness) she groaned, but yet was fed and kept alive for some hundreds of years. Their brethren likewise in Cornwall resisted the Romish usurpation much longer than the rest of the Britons, till about the year of our Lord 905, when king Edward the Elder, with the pope's consent, settled a bishop's see among them at St. Germans, and placed one *Ædulphus* to be their first bishop ; who with his successors, by the pope's power then greatly prevailing, in a short time reduced them, much against their

* This triplet is wrong. The original literally means,
Woe to the worldly priest,
Who neither checks vice,
Nor preaches.

will, to submit their ancient faith to the conduct of papal discipline, as most of the Britons were before forced to do.

At the time of this massacre, which happened in the year 603, we may date the first beginning of the downfall of our British churches, and of the erecting thereon our long bondage and slavery under the usurpation of Rome, with all the errors and innovations that usurped dominion then opened a way to, or brought along with it; though a noble stand was made for a considerable time by the remains of the British clergy, under the zealous encouragement of their own, and the propitious favour and countenance also of some of the Saxon princes (so forcible is truth as even to make sometimes our enemies befriend us) till at last the ancient orthodox apostolical churches in Britain (their clergy being now separated, and their princes becoming divided in their interests) by an unaccountable disposal of Providence, were all swallowed up in the Romish gulph; and, solely against their wills, were forced to submit to lordly Austin and his train of foreign metropolitans; who, as they had disseized us of our rights and privileges, so they warped and corrupted our faith soon after, with all the innovations and errors they thought fit to impose upon us.

At this dispersion of the British clergy also, began the erection and establishing of Parochial Cures, and the building of our country churches.

This distribution of dioceses into parishes or distinct ministerial cures in England, is attributed to archbishop *Honorius*, who lived indeed about the same time that this distribution happened with us. But in the British churches at that time his injunctions could be of no force; and therefore we must ascribe this procedure rather to a hard fate, and the necessity of the times which required in the clergy a greater vigilance, and *that* a more near attendance to their flocks when such wolves were gaping for them; or lastly and most immediately, it may be ascribed to their having at that time their general rendezvous or college at *Bangor Iscoed* broke up and ruined by the barbarous Saxons, on the instigation of monk Austin, as it is too much to be suspected.

But however that was, of which we have only probable circumstances to guess by; we are sure that greater numbers of the dissipated clergy, just after that inhuman butchery, resorted to the Isle of Anglesey, than did to any other part of Wales of twice its dimensions. For if we reckon the number of priests that then flocked into it, by the number of churches and parishes, which were then or a little while after erected and established in this island, we shall find them to exceed by much, what

what came to any other country in North-Wales. For by that estimate we may observe in Anglesey seventy-four parishes, which we have reason to believe, are as old as that time; and therefore we may reckon as many of those priests to have come and resided in it; whereas Caernarvonshire, which is almost twice as large, has but sixty-eight; Montgomeryshire almost thrice as large, has but forty-seven; Denbighshire more than twice as large, has but fifty-seven; Flintshire only twenty-eight; and Merionyddshire thirty-seven parishes; and consequently but so many priests that came and settled in them. Which serves to shew that the security and fertility of the place invited then many more of the clergy to make their abodes in this island, than in any part of North-Wales. And yet we may further observe from this reckoning, that the whole number of the retreated clergy, if counted by parishes, was but three hundred and eleven. And if half the number of them that lived in that convent were clergymen, it well may be presumed that not only all Wales, but also a good part of England, might have their congregations served by ministers out of this monastery. But it is very probable that many of them were lay-monks, giving themselves to prayers and abstinence, and young students with officers and servants that took care of serving the house, and of collecting and managing the church's revenue, their whole number being about two thousand.

Indeed a little before this Parochial distribution happened, we find a college at *Bangor* in Caernarvonshire, probably in imitation of that at *Iscord*, erected by *Daniel* the son of *Dionotbus*, abbot of the former: And another a little after that, by *Beuno*, at a place called *Clynnoc*, in the same county. That at *Bangor* was made a bishopric by prince *Maelgwn*, and the said *Daniel* consecrated bishop thereof by *Dubricius*, archbishop of *Caerleon*. But the other at *Clynnoc*, having no bishop, but a *Præfetus Monachorum* or abbot presiding over it, continued only a place of education and literature, as many other places in Wales in those days were; where religion was professed after the manner of the East, and young men trained up to the bishop's hands to fill up the vacancies of the Parochial clergy, as I may now call them.

Now as to the building of these Parochial churches; it was then the custom of some of the most eminent of the clergy, bishops, abbots and the like, to travel, accompanied with some of their Presbyters, to the lords and great ones of the land, making small presents to them (as *Beuno* did to king *Cadfan* at *Caer Segont* of a little golden sceptre) for their assistance and encouragement to build those cells or cloisters, which

are now our churches; and when that was done, to place one of their priests or disciples to reside there, and to perform in the district the duties requisite to his place and function. Thus bishop *Aidan*, *Ffinnan* and *Beuno* did in this island; whose names are borne on some of our churches, as well as in other places, to this day.

But for a more particular account of some of our churches in the Isle of Anglesey, and of the patrons or first builders of them, by what records we have yet remaining, after our ecclesiastical histories written by *Dubricius*, *Tysilio* and *Twrog* were all lost, be pleased to take what followeth.

Beuno was the son of *Bovagius* or *Beugi*, who was grandson of *Cadell Deyrnlyg*, a noted person in his time, and prince in *Powys-Land*. He built two cells or churches in this island; the one at *Aberffraw*, the other at *Trefdraeth*: And had several lands and townships in this island given by several persons to his house or monastery at *Clynnoo*:

Aidan, or *Ædan*, was the son of *Gabranus* or *Gwvnyw*, who was grandson of *Vrien Reged*, prince of *Regedia* in the North. But whether *Aidan* the king (who was this I mention) or *Aidan* the bishop, called *Aidan Foeddog* of *Columcil* and bishop of *Landisfern*, gave the name to the church of *Llan Ædan*, is not certain; but probably the latter: Because *Ffinnan*, whose name is on a church in the neighbourhood of the other, was the latter *Aidan's* disciple, and succeeded him in his bishopric; and to accompany the good work of his master *Aidan*, he might have the other church built in his own name, called *Llanffinnan*.

Daniel, who had a church near that of *Llan Ædan*, was son of *Daniel* first bishop of *Bangor*, and therefore the church is commonly called *Llanddeniël fáb*.

Peirio, *Gallgo*, *Egruad*, *Maelog*, *Caffo*, were sons of one *Caw*, commonly called *Caw O Frydain*, and have their churches in this island. And their sister *Cuillog*, a daughter of the said *Caw*, built her a cloister here, which became afterwards one of our churches, called *Llangwilog*.

Ceidio, *Ane* and *Aiddan Foeddog* before-mentioned, were the sons of another *Caw*, called *Caw Cowllog*; and had their churches at *Rhodwydd*, *Ceidio* and *Coed Ane*, and the last, as I guessed before, at *Llan Ædan*.

Credisael and *Fflewinn* were the sons of *Itbel Hael*, a nobleman of *Armorica* or *Little-Britain*; they had their cells or churches at *Penmynydd* and *Llanfflewinn*.

Peulan was the son of *Palken* of the Isle of Man, which since the time of *Maelgwyn Gwynedd*, was in the possession of the *Venedotian* Britons.

And

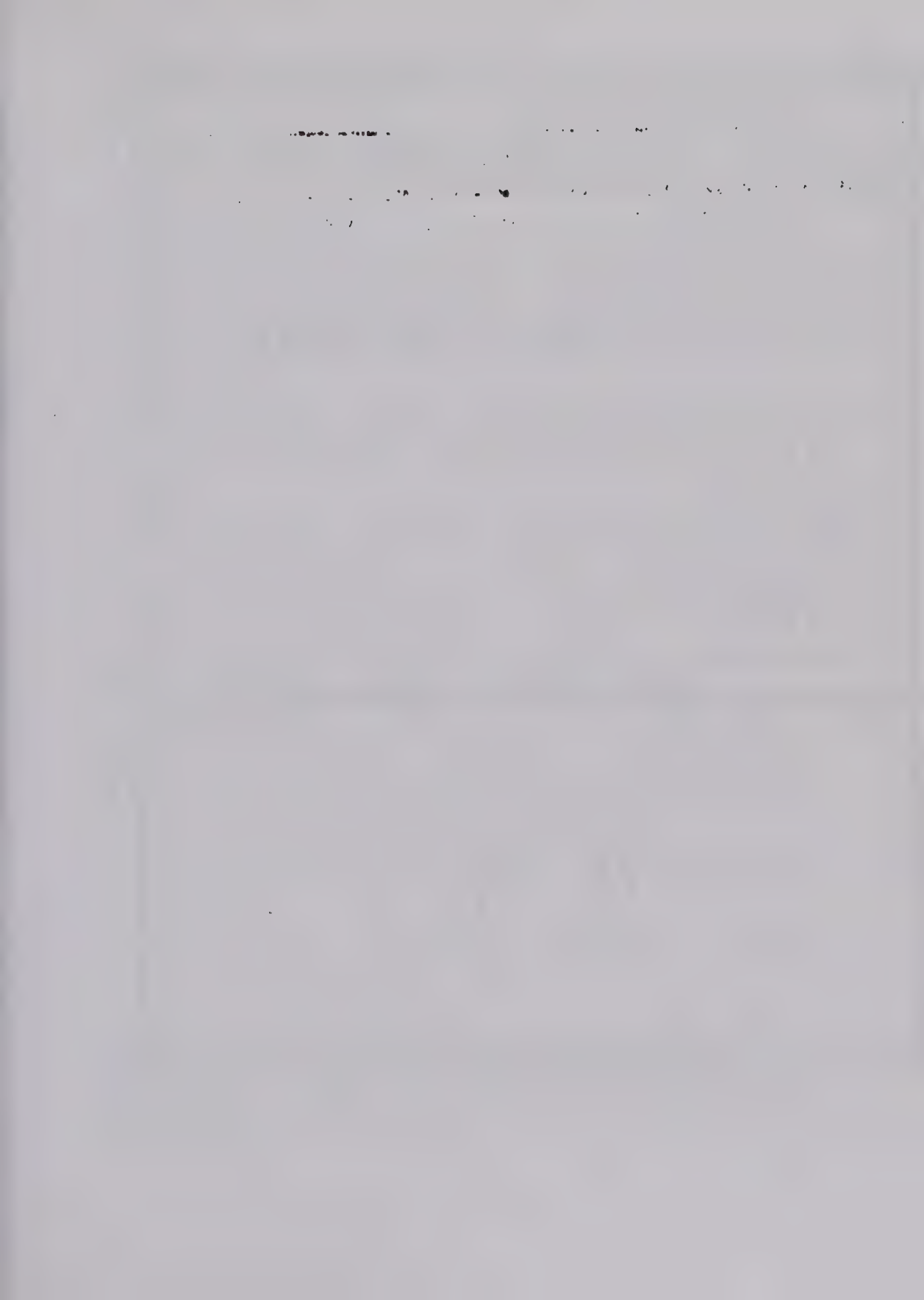


Fig: 1.

...C: IMCCEδ: SMHδδVS. RESδINVS: CV. .W&NLL.....
 N.....F.....MB: M.....OC: Eδ: GRVPPVδ: MP: G WLYM:
 δPδVδδ: IN: OBLMCCOEM: ISSMM: IMMGN EM: P: SML
 Vδ: B: MNIMRVH: S

Fig: 2.

On the Edge of the Stone above the Head of the Effigy in Large Letters.

MIAIMQAZ GRVRRVTMPGWILVM

Then on a circular label on your left Hand of the Head.

MNIMMRVMI: S

Then on a circular label on the other side.

M&M: P: SMLVZ&

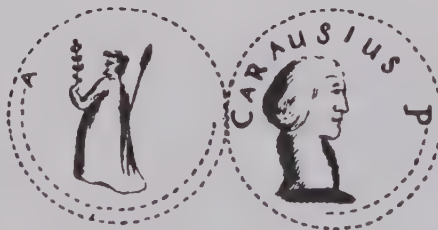
On another label.

S C B

IPFVM

And some broken Letters on the Crook.

Fig: 3.



And *Gwenfaen*, the daughter of the said *Palken*, had her cloister at *Rbôfcolin*; which after became a parish church called *Llan Gwenfaen*, as her brother's cloister was called *Llan Beulan*.

Kynfarwy was the son of *Awy ap Llebenog*, a lord of Cornwall, whose church was at *Llech Gynfarwy*.

Tysilio was one of the sons of the famous *Brychfael Yfscytbrog*, who fought the Saxons when the massacre was committed by them on our clergymen near *Bangor is-coed*. He is said to have written an ecclesiastical British history, whereof some fragments have been lately seen, but are now lost; his cloister or church was at *Llandysilio*.

Engbenel was grandson of the said *Brychfael Yfscytbrog*; his church at *Llan Engbenel*.

Cristiolus was the son of *Owen ap Yner*, a nobleman of *Armorica* or *Little-Britain*; his church was at *Llangristiolus*.

Dona was another grandson of *Brychfael Yfscytbrog*; his church at *Llanddona*.

Cyngar, *Iestlin*, and the before-mentioned *Caw Cowllog*, father of *Ceidio*, *Ane*, and *Aiddan Foeddawg*, were the sons of *Gerinnius* or *Geraint*, who was grandson of *Constantine* duke of Cornwall, the successor of king *Arthur*. This *Geraint* being admiral of the British fleet, and having thereby occasion of harbouring sometimes in this island, it is probable he caused the church of *Pentraeth* to be built, called *Llanfair Bettws Geraint*; *Cyngar* and *Iestlin* had their churches at *Llangefni* and *Llanieistlin*.

This *Cyngar* had, besides the place to build his church upon, a township bestowed upon him and his cloister for ever, whose freeholds are to this day held *de Sancto Cyngaro*. And they pretend to shew the grave of *Iestlin*, at his church in *Llanieistlin*, with an odd intricate sort of an inscription upon his tomb-stone. See plate VIII. fig. 1.

Note, In reading this inscription, the letter *M* must be taken for *A*, which is the greatest difficulty. *R* is both *J* and *R*. *Restinus* is *Rex Iestinus*.

Which I read thus *, *Hic jacet Sanctus Rex Iestinus, cui Wenllian*
 ——— *F* ——— *ap Madoc, & Gryffyth ap Gwylim obtulerunt in ob-*
lationem istam imaginem pro salute beata Animarum suarum.

* This inscription is a mere fiction; neither the letters on the plate, nor the words here read being to be found on the stone at *Llanieistlin*; though it is plain by the words *Gryffut ap Gwylim* and *Animarum* s. the same stone is meant. The truth of the matter is this. The tomb-stone at *Llanieistlin* is a curious piece of workmanship. It is the effigy of a man in a sacerdotal habit, whence we may conclude, that it is the tomb of some abbot. The true inscription is inserted under the false one in plate VIII. fig. 2. The church is dedicated to St. *Catbarine*, whose picture is elegantly painted on the glass of the East window.

☞ The stone has the portraiture of a man in a sacerdotal habit, about which the inscription is cut; by the letter it appears that the tomb-stone and the portraiture were set there some ages after the interment.

Seiriol and *Meirion*, the sons of *Owen Danwyn*, the son of *Eneon*; *Urdd ap Cynedda Weledig* and brothers of *Eneon Frenbin*, had their cells, the one at *Penmon* and *Priestholm* Isle, and the other at *Llan Feirion*. Their elder brother, *Eneon* the prince, chose the seat of his cloister in *Llyn*, at a place called to this day *Llan Eneon Frenbin*; an inscription on the steeple of which church mentions their father by the name of *AIVINI ODINI*, and that *Eneon* built it.

Which inscription is thus to be read, *Lux totoi* [i. ex *Toti Genti*] *Aivini Odini*, *mibi*, imo *Ecclesia* *H^{is}*, *Iesus est*; *Ut cameant* [i. e. *cameant*] *sui vivere ad Jedisem* [i. e. *Judicem*] *aternum*: *Istam* [i. e. *Ecclesiam*] *Eneanus, Rex Wallia fabricavit*. See plate IX. fig. 1.

Note, That the letters in this inscription seem so old as the seventh or eighth century *. The Latin of it savours of the corrupt vulgar Latin which the Romans had a little before left among us. It was very usual for one letter to bear a part in the formation of the other, next adjoining, in these old inscriptions.

Patricius or *Patrick*, a *Stradeluid-Briton*, being sent by *Celestine* bishop of Rome, to convert the Irish; and on his way to Ireland, visiting *St. Elian* in Anglesey, caused a church to be built on the water-side, where he took shipping, called *Llanbadrig*.

Cybi the son of *Selyf* or *Solomon*, son of the before-mentioned *Geraint*, and Nephew to *Cyngar* and *Iestin*, built the church of *Holy-Head*; and as some write was appointed bishop of Anglesey: But the time that this *Cybi* lived in does not favour that opinion.

Elian Cannaid, our British Hilary, was the son of *Altyd Rbedegawg*, who was grandson of *Cadrod Calchfynydd* earl of Dunstable; he built his cloister at *Blau Ekan*, to whom *Caswallan law-bir* gave many lands and franchises about that church, which are held in his name by the freeholders of them to this day.

Mecbell or *Macutus*, as in the Roman calendar, was the son of one *Echwyd*, the son of *Gwyn*, who was grandson of *Gloyw gwlad hydan*, lord of Gloucester, in the time of the Saxon massacre at *Stonehenge*. He was made bishop of *St. Maloe's* in *Little-Britain*. His church or

* The true characters of this inscription are represented in plate IX. fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

QW/LVSS/TOTOI/ANEN/ESN/|
 MI/IMOB/CEFE/LY4/03
 IIII/ITTS/HP/H
 IST/UTC, AME/AN/|EV/VH/VH/|
 IFDIF/ATV/IV/|STA/|IN/AN/|
 REX/ALIE/KAYF

LVSS TOTOI

REX WALLIE

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

NIE IACIT
 MACCVQECETI

CATAMANIPIYEXTAPIENTIIWUP
 OPINATIIWUYOMNIUMTEZUM

Fig. 4.

This is the true Inscription.

CATAMANIPIYEXTAPIENTIIWUP
 OPINATIIWUYOMNIUMTEZUM

eloister was called from his name *Llanfecbell*. He died it seems in the Isle of Anglesey, and was buried not at his own church, but at a neighbouring church called *Penrbôs Lligwy*, in whose church-yard there is an old fashioned grave-stone with an inscription, which by the form of the letters seems to be genuine. See plate IX. fig. 3.

Tegfan was grandson of *Cadrod Calchfynydd*, and uncle of *Elian*. His cell or church was at *Llandegfan*. Here one *Tydecho* also had his eloister, which still remains; and he is by some reckoned the patron saint of the place.

Rbuddlad, a daughter of a king of *Leinster* in Ireland (the religious devotees of Wales and Ireland having then much communication) came over here and built her a cloister at *Llan Rbuddlad*; as also did *Rbwydrys*, the son of *Rbwydrim* or *Rhodrem* king of *Connaught*, at the same time, and built his cloister at *Llan Rbwydrys*; both which became afterwards parish churches.

King *Cadwaladr*, the last British crowned head, ordered a church to be built here, which was called *Llan Gadwaladr*. There is over the South door a large flat stone, not unlike a grave-stone, with the inscription in plate IX. fig. 4.

Which inscription is thus to be read,.

Catamanus Rex sapientissimus opimatissimus omnium Regum.

The said *Catamanus* or *Cadfan*, who was grandfather of king *Cadwaladr*, is said to be buried in the isle of *Bardsey*; where a great cloister of religious men at that time flourished, and where many of the British princes and nobles were interred. But by this inscription it may seem probable that the said *Cadfan* was buried in this place; where his grandson built this church, and endowed it as one of the sanctuaries of this island.

Tysfrydog was the son of *Arwyſtle Glôff*, who was son of *Owen Danwyn*, son of *Eneon Urdd*, son of *Cynedda Weledig*. He built his church at *Llandysfrydog*; which church *Giraldus Cambrensis* makes mention of, and of a memorable accident that happened in it in his time.

Dwynwen and *Ceinwen* were daughters of one *Brychanus* or *Brychan*, who had many sons and daughters that were devoted to religion; *Quibus passim per Cambro-Britanniam* (says the mentioned *Giraldus Cambrensis* of the children of this *Brychan*) *Templa Divorum ac Divarum Nomine inscribuntur*; of whom these two had their cloisters in this island, which came

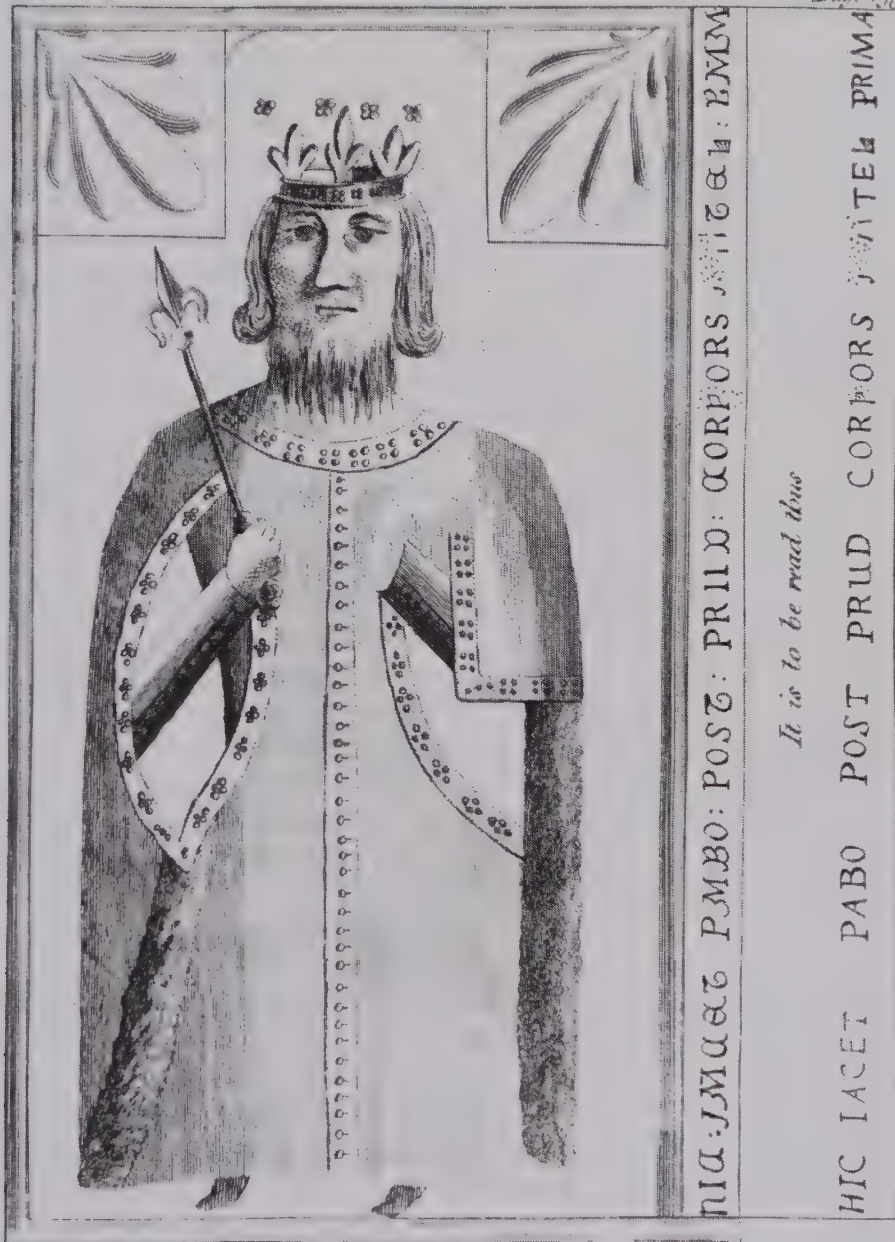
came afterwards to be the churches of *Llanddwyn* and *Llan-Geirwen*, and their brother *Dyfnan* had his church in *Llanddysna*.

Pabo, frequently called *Post Prydain*, i. e. the Support of Britain, for his great valour against the Picts and Scots, retired here, and built his church at *Llan Pabo**. He was the son of *Arthruys*, son of *Môr*, son of *Cenau*, son of *Coel Godbeog*, or hawk-faced, grandfather of *Constantine* the Great. This *Pabo* of all the patron saints of this island, seems to have been the highest in time, and next him *St. Eliau*.

Edwen Santes or *Edwen the Holy* is supposed to have been of Saxon extraction, either daughter or niece of *Edwin* king of Northumberland, who had his education at *Cadfan's* court in *Caer Segont*; if so, then a near kinswoman or sister of the famous *Hilda*, who managed the dispute with bishop *Wilfrid* about the feast of Easter. She had her cloister at *Llan Edwen*, which became afterwards a parish-church.

Many other churches there are in the Isle of Anglesey, of whose founders or patron-names I can give no account. And many others we find dedicated to scripture-names, *St. Peter*, the Blessed Virgin, and to *St. Michael* the archangel, which probably were long before built by laymen, and used by the first Christians. Some also of these churches retained the appellations of the places they were situated in, as *Llangefni*, *Tregaiian*, *Amlwch*, *Cerrig Ceinwen*, &c. But the far greater number bear on them the names of such priests, as were themselves founders of them, or at least of such priests as were placed in them by those holy men and women who were founders, and had probably lived in them before, as these priests might live in them for some while after, as in habitations of select privacy and retirement. For, according to the usage of those days, as well the persons dwelling, as the places they lived in, were equally consigned and dedicated to God. And indeed by what remains now to be seen of our most ancient buildings, it seems the form of our very houses at those times and that of our churches was much the same; the fronts of them being always to the South-East, having great windows in them opening that way, just as our churches have; which may render it probable that our churches here were originally dwelling-houses, but by being dedicated to God and religion became sacred cells and cloisters; wherein nothing hindered but that holy devout men might as well live as officiate, for some time. And

* His tomb-stone was discovered in the church-yard, about the time of Charles the Second, by the sexton in digging a grave. It is a soft stone of the nature of a slate—not of the produce of Anglesey. It lay about six feet under ground—and the characters are in bass relievo. See plate X.



It is to be read thus

we have reason to believe they did so here, as well as in Ireland, where the cells of their *Culdees* *, became their churches, which retain on them that name to this day; as *Cel-Manoc*, *Cel-Kenny*, *Cel-Ala*. Nay, the Irish attribute to every church, answering our *Llan*, is *Cel* or *Cil*; which is a sufficient argument that they were *Cells* at first, where holy men and women, retiring from the world, spent their days in the service and worship of God.

And this may be one reason why we find so many of our churches built in obscure corners and solitary places and peninsulés; as if these British *Culdees* consulted more their own retiredness and solitariness of living, than the conveniencies of their congregations, in their choosing the sites of their cells and churches. And truly, I think, there are few of our churches but discover something of singularity in their situations tending that way, having commonly wells of clear water nigh them, with some traditional story, and other remarks preserved among the inhabitants, betokening the solitary ascetic lives of the founders and first possessors of them. I cannot omit observing here, for the more credit to our British records before-mentioned, which are the genealogy of our British saints, of which we have yet many copies left; that some of these inscriptions I have taken and now exemplified, seem to conciliate and to give good evidence of the truth of those memoirs; as *Catamanus* at *Llangadwaladr*, of *Cadfan*'s being a near relation of king *Cadwaladr*, over whose burying-place he built that church: As *Macutii Ecceti* at *Penrhas Lligwy*, of *Mechell*'s being son of *Echwyd*, just as the genealogy has it. And as *Aibini Odini*, i. e. *Owain Danwyn* at *Llan Eneon* in *Llyn*, of being *Eneon*'s ancestor, whom the said genealogy makes to be his father. Note, That inscriptions are allowed to be great confirmations of history among all nations; and may serve here as good proof of the authenticity of the said records.

Now the clergy having in this manner separated and dispersed themselves into settled habitations, over all the countries of North-Wales, there was now a necessity of altering their fund and manner of subsistence. Their maintenance before was supported by the tithes and oblations of the people, but then paid in common to the church's use, and annually collected by her officers. But when the clergy were necessitated to retire from the rage of the Saxons, and by the assistance of

* *Culdees*, rightly called *Keldei*, from the original Irish or ancient Scottish word *Ceil-Dr*, signifying separated or ascribed to God, were an order of lay religious monks or presbyters, governed by an abbot or head chosen from among themselves.

good and devout patriots to establish themselves in particular abodes, to perform the duties of their function, their right to the same maintenance, which was before in common, became now to be particularly claimed. And to fix and establish that, no more was now required, when these cells were built, and priests resided in them, than for so many neighbouring inhabitants as submitted themselves to the spiritual care of one distinct pastor then living with them, to pay to the said pastor in particular all their tithes and other ecclesiastical emoluments, and obliging themselves and posterity so to do (the smaller divisions of land being before that time under distinct bounds and limits) these divisions of townships, hamlets, and parcels of land, which the then associated inhabitants possessed, became in an instant so many distinct parishes, and continued so (we bless God for it) to this day.

But though they be now parishes, as at first, yet they continued not to be residential cures; but for a short time after. For as the piety and devotion of people slackened, their oblations consequently diminished, and the tithes became too small and inconsiderable to support a priest in every parish. So that they were reduced to a necessity of conjoining more or less of these parishes and their churches into one residential cure under one incumbent; and by that means the incumbents were made able to obtain or purchase glebes, and to build them houses to live in, to attend their cures; while the house of God, which before, it seems, afforded them habitation, was now wholly employed to be what it should have always been, viz. the house of prayer.

The want of knowing or justly weighing this affair, has betrayed the well-meaning zeal of a late worthy * prelate into a mistake, in reckoning these annexed Parochial chapels in Anglesey to be so many residential cures; for without that they could not be non-residences. And indeed what they are, they have continued to be for several hundreds of years; and are like to do for ever, unless the same zeal and piety which at first made them a sort of residences, reinstate them again; and the same benevolence and bounty return again to support and cherish the incumbents of them. The want of which we may be allowed to lament and expostulate; but have very small hopes of ever seeing that day, when all our Parochial chapels in Anglesey will become but competently endowed benefices; which benefices, with their chapels annexed, now for many ages have been what they called residential cures.

* Bishop Kenn's Catalogue of Non-Residences.

One thing more I must here take notice of before I dismiss this particular—and that is, the deplorable account another angry clergyman, viz. the British Gildas, gives us of the state of the British church; and the dismal character he bestows (being himself one) on many of the clergy of it, in an age abounding with so many saints, and so full of piety and devotion, as we may well presume that age was, wherein so great and extraordinary acts both of piety and devotion were done, as all that I have before-mentioned, amounted to. To which, because it may appear to give some handle of objection against what I have laid down before, I shall briefly reply,

FIRST, The charge of Gildas is not general: he not only acquits, but extols the virtues of some of the pastors of the British church in his time with his highest strains of rhetoric.

SECONDLY, Though the transactions I mention happened about the same time that Gildas lived in and wrote his book; yet the one was before the other. Gildas wrote that satyr before Austin's coming; and then our clergy, when abroad from their seminary, generally resided in princes' courts and in great mens' families, whence by their superiors' directions they officiated in allotted districts. In this case, I confess, they were under too great temptations to be all exemplarily good; and it is likely too many of them justly deserved his lash. But this case soon after altered with them: God purged his floor, and a great slaughter was made of them, which undoubtedly must needs purify the rest. And the same stroke of Providence which ruined their plan of learning and knowledge, amended their lives, by taking them out of the luxuries of courts and families, and putting them to the austerities of cells and cloisters. And in this case only I apologize for them.

THIRDLY, Gildas, though a person of veracity and honesty, yet sacrificed his prudence to his zeal, and thought to reclaim the vices of the laity by exposing those of his brethren the clergy. But as it is too apparent, that though he designed well, he carried with him some tender point that had been one time or other too nearly touched by some of both parties; so an unaccountable temper in the conduct of his resentments marred his good designs, and indeed dis-relished his work to the taste of future ages. For the blemishes he is fond to expose are only personal, and no general characters can be drawn from them; at least now when we consider the men he levels at not as a Conventual, as they were when under his lash, but as a Parochial clergy.

To return from the ecclesiastical to the civil affairs of this island. After king *Cadwaladr*'s death, who was the last crowned king of Britain of the British race, we remained some time under a sort of aristocracy, till king *Cadwaladr*'s children returned from Armorica, whither they had retreated in the time of a great plague that raged here : Though some say *Bletricus* duke of Cornwall governed here in their absence ; from whose son's hands *Rhodri Molwynog* son of *Idwal Iwrch*, one of the sons of king *Cadwaladr*, wrested the government of the Cambrian Britons, and left two sons after him, viz. *Conan Tyndaetbwy*, born or nursed in that part of Anglesey he took his name from, and *Howel*. From the first of whom, the line of the Welsh princes, who governed Wales for many generations after, took its origin. And therefore I shall here subjoin a Scheme of his descent from *Coel Godbebog*, in whom centered the united rights of many of the greatest British monarchs. On which account the emperor *Constantius*, to secure himself on the British throne, by partaking in those rights, took to wife his beautiful daughter *Tiboen*, called by the Roman's *Helen* ; who was mother of his son and successor *Constantine* the Great. And his other daughter, *Gwawl* or *Julia*, was married to *Edern* the son of *Paternus*, a prince of the Britons in the northern parts, who was father, by the said *Gwawl*, of *Cynedda Wledig*, or the Illustrious ; from whose eldest son the sovereign claim to the British sceptre, after the failure here of the race of *Helen*, was conveyed, with what of their country they preserved, to the succeeding Welsh princes.

Coel Godhebog,
King of Britain.

Stradwen,
daughter of Cadfan ap Conar
ap- Eudaff, prince of North
Wales.

Gwawl, or Julia.

Edern ap Padarn.

Cenau ap Coel.

Constantius Chlorus,
emperor.

Helen, or Tiboen*.

Cynedda Wledig †

† We have, among our old British MSS. one Elegy on this prince, called *Marwnad Cynedda Wledig*.

Constantine the Great.

* *Tiboen* ferch Coel Godhebog.
I Grêd a gefedd y Grêg.

‡

‡ Our British Genealogies place here one *Caretic Arglwydd Ceredigion*, father of *Einion Urdd*, and son of *Cynedda Wledig*.

Einion Urdd

¶ Caswallon law hir.

¶ In an ancient Ode * or *Cywydd*, upon St. Elian, to this day preserved in memory in that parish, which lies in the north part of Anglesey, there is mention made of prince *Caswallon*, and of his residence in that neighbourhood, i. e.

*Elian uchafb i rai awylo
O lid am ei ffrwyb a'i lo
Fe sunaeth yn ddall Caswallon
Arglwydd mawr ar ogledd Môn.*

§ Maelgwyn Gwynedd.

§ There is, amongst the same MSS. an Ode called *Cerdd i Faelgwyn Gwynedd*. In the time of this prince there were two noted persons in Anglesey, viz. *Caw of Tŵr Celyn*, and *Eggrî of Talybelion*, who had several sons, from whom many families descended in this island.

¶ Rhun ap Maelgwyn.

¶ This prince, *Rhun ap Maelgwyn*, made great and long wars against the Saxons of Northumberland. And at his return home gave notable privileges to the inhabitants of Caernarvonshire, for having detained them so long with him from their wives and families in that northern expedition; and these privileges are called *Breithis gwynr Arfon*. He made also several laws, which we have, among other things, in a very old MS. called *Cyfrithis Rhun ap Maelgwyn*.

Beli ap Rhun.

† Iago ap Beli.

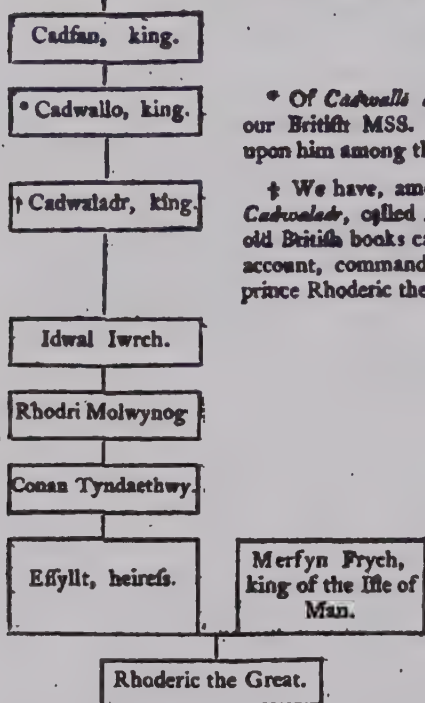
† Of prince *Iago ap Beli* there is a British Ode, called *Marwnad Iago ap Beli*, which gives some account of him. There is an ancient excerpt of donations preserved in

* Ode is an *Owdl*, not *Cywydd*.

Y =

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the archives of the cathedral of Bangor, which mentions this prince, viz. *Item Iago ap Beli, rex, dicatus ecclesiam dotavit*, i. e. "Prince Iago ap Beli founded the deanry of Bangor."



* Of Cadwallis ap Cadfan likewise we have an Ode or Elegy, among our British MSS. called *Marwnad Cadwallis ap Cadfan*; and another upon him among the Odes of *Llewelyn* *bin*.

† We have, among the said British MSS. a prophecy ascribed to king, *Cadwaladr*, called *Darogan Cadwaladr*. From the time of his reign the old British books called *Brut y Saeson*, and *Brut y Tywysogion*, begin their account, commanded to be continued and preserved in monasteries, by prince Rhodric the Great.

Rhodric the Great was prince of all Wales, and divided his dominions between his three elder sons, *Anarawd*, *Cadell*, and *Merfyn*.

By this Scheme it will appear on the one side, that the *Cynethian* family (out of which our British princes derive their descent and right of sovereignty) descended from *Coel Godbehog* king of Britain, whose son *Cenau*, the right heir, contenting himself with his father's patrimony in the North, gave up his right of sovereignty to his sister *Helen* or *Tiboen*, who was, as you see before, married to *Constantius Chlorus*, *Dioclesian's* lieutenant, and afterwards emperor. So on the other side, we find partly out of Roman, and partly out of British history, that one *Asclepiodotus* a Briton, brought up in the Roman camp, and a Praetorian Praefect, but by descent duke of Cornwall, having slain *Alectus*, and thereby merited and obtained the lieutenantancy of Britain, was afterwards a revolter, and chosen by the Britons to be their crowned king and emperor. But this *Asclepiodotus*, as the Romans called him, and by the Britons called *Brân ap Llyr*, being slain in bat-

tle by *Coel Godbeog*, who was likewise chosen king by the Britons, *Caradocus* the son of *Asclepiodotus* was obliged to retire to North-Wales with his court and family, where his father's sister * *Bronwen* died, and was buried on the bank of the river *Alaw* in Anglesey, whose monument I have lately seen, but is now defaced. *Caradocus* being dead, his son *Eudda* or *Eutba*, called by the Romans *Octavius*, having made his abode for a considerable time with his father at *Caer Segont*, as our manuscripts mention, was at length recalled by *Constantine* the Great, and by him made governor of Britain.

This *Octavius*, by descent duke of Cornwall, being now put into that great authority, when he had well strengthened himself in the power committed to him, made bold, as others had done before, to assume the sovereignty to himself, and consequently was crowned by his countrymen king of Britain. And being in that high state, after some bickerings with the Romans, and contests with his nephew *Conan Meriadog*—born in North-Wales at a place of that name—for the right of sovereignty, or at least for the possession of it; the said *Octavius* thought it adviseable in order to secure the throne to his own issue, to match his daughter *Helen* (born at *Caer Segont*, whose chapel is there to this day) to *Maximus*, cousin by the mother to *Constantine* the Great, that thereby he might put aside his nephew's claim. But some time after, *Maximus* (after great contests with this *Conan*, his wife's cousin, for the British crown) was by the Prætorian soldiers chosen emperor. On which advancement of him to the imperial purple, he took into favour the said *Conan Meriadog*, and gave him the province of *Armorica*, where before was planted a colony of Britons, and made him king thereof. And after the death of *Maximus*, and of his son *Flavius Victor* by his wife *Helen* (his other son *Publicius*, builder of *Llan-Beblic*, having renounced the world and taken on him the habit of religion) the said *Conan Meriadog* † became heir to his uncle *Eutba* or *Octavius*, and was consequently duke of Cornwall, whose line I shall exhibit in the following Scheme.

But before I lay down that Scheme, it is requisite here to advertise the reader, that the accounts I give of these two families are principally owing to our British manuscripts. That of the *Cynethian* family is ca-

* *Bêd Penhal a wnaid i Bronwen ferch Elyr ar lan Alaw, ac ynt y claddwyd hi, &c.* See Dr. Davies on the word *Penhal*.

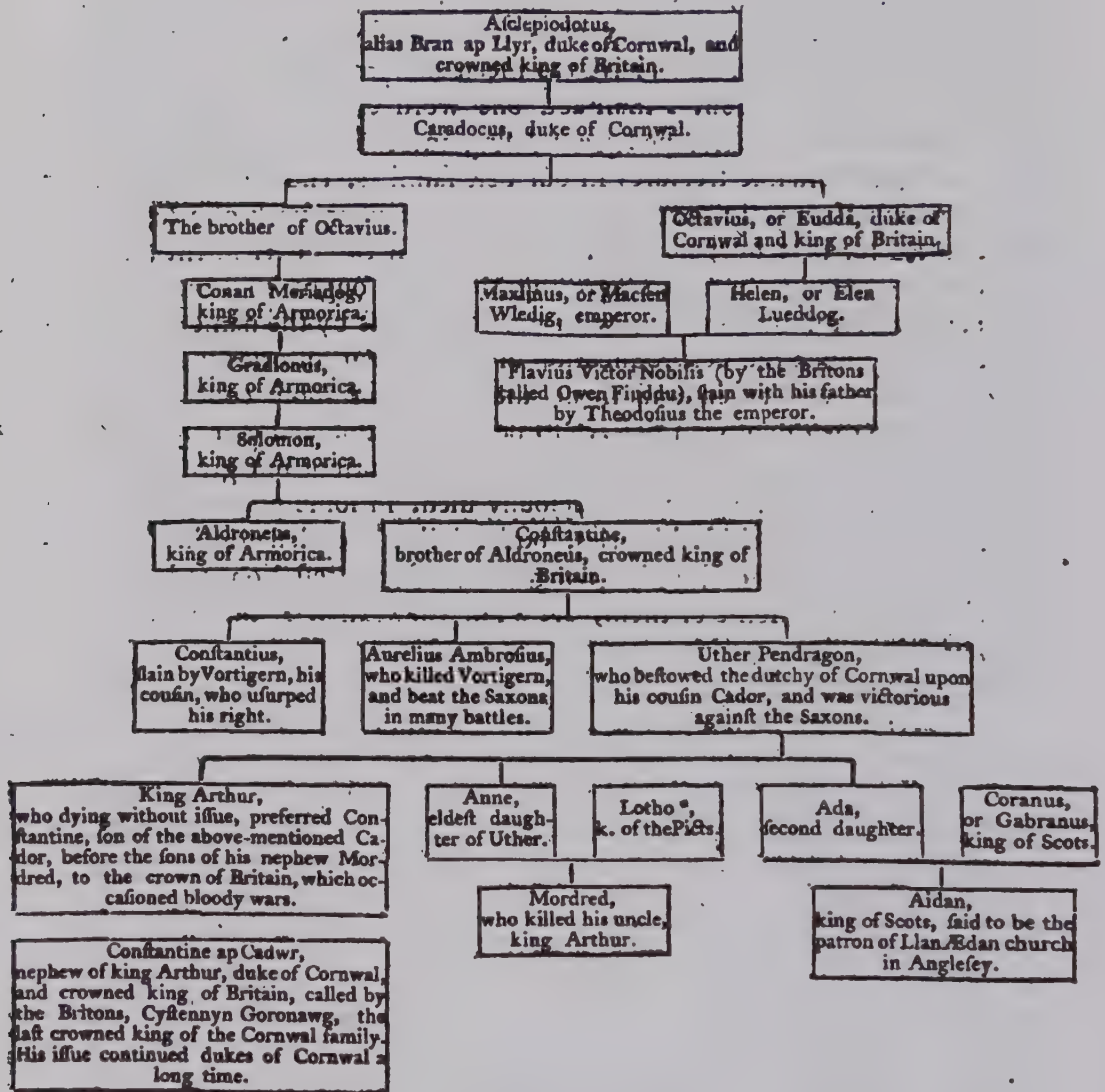
† The author misapprehended a passage in the *Triads*, about *Helen* and her brother *Conan*; and therefore is not here to be depended upon.

sily to be made out from the pedigrees of the chiefest houses in North-Wales; and where those do agree, as generally they do in the account I give, they carry with them a great degree of historical certainty. As to the Cornwall family, I must confess I have not the same advantage; so that I was forced to take in there some conjectures and inferences, which yet I hope are well grounded. For instance, that *Asclepiodotus* was duke of Cornwall and crowned king of Britain, the British history is my evidence; and that he was called by the Britons, *Bran* the son of *Llyr*, the genealogy of our British saints gives good testimony. For we find there that *Helen*, the wife of *Macfen Wledig*, who in history is commonly called *Maximus* the Tyrant, was daughter of *Euda* or *Eutba*, the son of *Caradog*, the son of *Bran ap Llyr*. Now that this *Bran ap Llyr*, *Eutba*'s grandfather, was a crowned king of Britain (for the Britons called none by that title but such as had obtained their imperial crown) a very ancient British manuscript, called *Mabinagi*, is my warrant. For in the beginning of the second section of that old fragment are these words, *Bendigeid Vrán Mâb Llyr a oedd frenbin Coronawg yn yr ynys bon*, i. e. "Blessed *Brennus*, the son of *Llyr*, was a crowned king of this island." And *Asclepiodotus* being of the same distance of time in history, as was this *Bran ap Llyr* in genealogy, from *Maximus* the emperor; and also being said in that ancient remain to be a crowned king, i. e. their chief monarch, I could do no less than conclude him to be the same person with the Briton's *Bran ap Llyr*, however he came to be more generally known and called by the name of *Asclepiodotus*.

But more evident it is from these British remains, that *Euda* mentioned in them was *Octavius*, who was also crowned king of Britain, and duke of Cornwall. For where our printed chronicles say that *Maximus* the emperor married the daughter of *Octavius* king of Britain, agreeably with that (excepting in the name) our books of genealogy say, that *Maximus* or *Macfen* as they call him, married the daughter of *Eudda* or *Eutba*, who—as the very import of his British name *Eutha* or *Wyth*, expressed in the Latin tongue *Octavius*, discovers—could be no other than this *Octavius*. And it is also there as evident that the before-mentioned *Conan Meriadog* was *Octavius*'s brother's son, because the British history not only calls him *Octavius*'s nephew, but mentions also the hard struggling there was between *Conan Meriadog* and both *Octavius* and *Maximus* for the British sceptre; by which it appears he was his elder brother's son, and so I have placed him in the Scheme: But of the other names in this Scheme that come after *Conan*, both the
Roman

Roman and British histories of Great and Little-Britain give ample evidence. And here since I have endeavoured to clear this point of difficulty in the account and series of our own British kings and princes, at the decline of the Roman empire, upon the credit of our British manuscripts still remaining among us, especially of our books of pedigrees; and lest the reader should have too mean an opinion of those obscure authorities I rely upon, I shall add one word of apology for them, and say, that our books of pedigrees being in ancient times carefully preserved, as valuable treasures in our best families, and the collections out of which they were composed, being the peculiar work of a set of men allotted for that purpose in all ages of the British government; the accounts contained in them agreeing together, ought to have, at least, equal credit allowed them, with what now pass by the name of history; especially since the best foundation of our ancient histories was no other than what was taken and made use of out of those collections; and therefore they may well deserve to be looked into, and equally to be relied upon in disquisitions of this nature; and cannot but give considerable light, when warily and judiciously used, in some points that remain obscure in our British histories, both civil and ecclesiastical. The inscriptions before observed, giving concurrent attestation and evidence to the truth of some of them, are a fair vindication of the credit of the rest.

The CORNWALL Family.



* Our author fell into a mistake here by following the translator of our British history, *Galfridus Monemutensis*; who turned *Llew ap Cynfarch* into *Loth*, whereas it ought to have been *Lo*. *Lotho* king of the Picts and *Llew ap Cynfarch* were different persons. See Williams's notes on *Æt. Cambr.* p. 144.

I have inserted here the Schemes of these two families, both to shew what regard the Britons in their greatest confusions had to the right line of their royal ancestors, and to reconcile some seeming differences which occur in the accounts of Roman, British and Scottish histories, in relating the affairs of those times, and the names of the chief persons therein concerned. In which last particular I take our genealogies, carefully preserved in many of the best families, where they agree together, to be the best light we have to trace out what is possible to be recovered of the truth of those matters, wherein national histories seem so much to vary in their relations of names and things. And herein I must own that the Scotch histories in the times of Christianity, relating to our affairs, have been better preserved than our own; their libraries having not been destroyed, as ours were, by the Danes and Saxons; and therefore in many things may be more depended upon. The Roman historians on the other side being over partial in their accounts; and an unlucky affectation of our prime men in taking on them Roman names with their own; by the first of which the Romans, and by the latter the Britons mention them; it is no wonder that many passages in Roman and British histories have appeared so perplexed and intricate.

It is here also to be observed, that altho' since and perhaps long before the Roman conquest, the Isle of Britain was governed by many petty princes of sovereign authority in their territories; yet all along, when occasion required it, they submitted their powers to the conduct of one general sovereign or monarch, whom they called King of all Britain; and ever confined themselves in their choice of such, to one imperial line, which, as an unalterable maxim of state, continued from *Dunwallo Moelmutius* to *Heli* or *Beli Mawr* as they called him, and from him to the above-said *Coel Godbebog* *: Of which line we find all that were raised to that dignity to have been. And whatever contests might happen for this pre-eminence between *Coel Godbebog* and the before-mentioned *Asclepiodotus*, who reigned with that title immediately before him; we have reason to suppose they both had pretensions to that lineage; especially when we consider how *Octavius*, grandson of that *Asclepiodotus*, to make sure work against his nephew, sent to Rome, as the British history has it, for *Maximus*, *Coel's* brother's grandson, to marry his daughter, thereby to salve up that difference. And also when *Constantine's* line abdicated their claim, and that of *Maximus* was ex-

* The epithet *Godbebog* does not belong to this *Coel*, but to another.

ting, we find that royal line divided again, between the *Cynetbian* and the *Cornwal* families, out of which two only they chose their kings. And when that regal dignity ended in king *Cadwaladr*, his line continued notwithstanding in the succeeding princes of Wales, though the honour of kingship did not, to the time of *Llewelyn* their last prince, who was slain at *Buallt*.

That Cambria and Cornwall, to which these two mentioned families were intitled, were provinces of great antiquity among the Britons, long before the Romans subdued the same, appears by a very old fragment of the *Moelmutian* laws, made some hundreds of years before the birth of Christ (if they be genuine) and still extant among our British manuscripts, wherein among other things is enacted, viz. *Un Goron Arbennig a Gynbelir yn yr ynys hon, ac yn Llundain Cadw'r Goron: A thair Talaitb a Gynbelir tani: un yn Ghymrâ Benbaladr: arall yn Nbin-Edin yn y Gogledd: ar drydydd yn Gbernyw.* That is, "One imperial crown is established in this island, and the crown kept in London; and three princely coronets contained under it: One in Wales, of the chief line; another at Edinburgh, in the North; and the third in Cornwall." The imperial crown was possessed by the supreme monarch of all Britain, whom they stiled, *Brenbin Prydain oll*, i. e. "King of all Britain." And such was commonly elected to that great dignity by the suffrage and consent of the other kings and princes, and was universally obeyed on extraordinary occasions. Of this sort were *Lud*, *Cassibeline*, *Cunabeline*, *Arviragus*, *Lucius*, *Coel*, and those of these two families I mentioned by the title of kings of Great-Britain, whereof *Cadwaladr* was the last; in whom ended that royal dignity in the British race, and together with it the possession of the far greater part of the whole island; which the Saxons very soon after reduced under one monarchy, and was called England, and their whole nation, Englishmen; as the Isle of Mona, the capital of the Cambrian province, being once conquered but soon lost by these Englishmen, was by them called Anglesey, i. e. "The Englishmens' Isle," as it is to this day.

Now to close up this section at the time and period wherein the Welsh history begins, that is, at the death of king *Cadwaladr*; I shall only by way of supplement out of that and other records trace the descent of the *Cynetbian* line a little further, viz. from *Cadwaladr*, the last British monarch, to *Rboderic* the Great; who established his royal seat at *Aberffraw* in the Isle of Anglesey: Adding a few other remarks that may deserve notice, relating to the said island.

Here

Here I shall not pretend to decide the variance there is between British and English authors, whether the last *Cadwaladr* died at Rome, or of the plague in Britain; or whether the British historian took the Saxon *Ceadwalla* for the British *Cadwaladr* *. But it is agreed on all hands, that *Cadwaladr* left at his death a son called *Idwal*, surnamed *Iwrch* or the Roe. The British history says his father left him very young under the care and tuition of his cousin *Alan*, then king of Armorica; who assisted the young prince, when he came of age, with a powerful army to recover his father's dignity and royal sceptre, or at least his patrimonial right in the Cambrian province: Which last, after great struggles, he obtained, and left his son *Rhodri Mawynog* sole heir and successor in the government of that province. Who in a short time vanquished and chased away the sons of *Bletricus*, prince of Cornwall, that then usurped the sovereignty of those countries, over which their father was left governor by *Cadwalllo* and *Cadwaladr*, when they were chosen kings of all Britain; and then he settled his seat, as his ancestors had done before, at *Caer Segont* on the river *Menai*.

Prince *Rhodri* dying left behind him two sons; viz. *Conan* surnamed *Tyndaetbwy*, probably as being born or nursed in that part of Anglesey called still by that name, and *Howel*. *Howel* claimed the Isle of Anglesey and other lands for his share of his father's inheritance by gavelkind; and *Conan* had the coronet and princely government. But as prince *Conan* could not suffer his brother to possess the capital of the province, in which the royal seat was first established by his ancestor *Caswallon law-bir*; this seat of sovereignty occasioned bloody wars between the two brothers, prosecuted with various success, till at length *Conan* the prince vanquished his brother *Howel*, and forced him to make his escape to the Isle of Man; which was then part of this British province, under the government of one *Merfyn Frych*. But *Conan* dying soon after, and leaving behind him one daughter named *Effyllt*; *Howel* perceiving the Welsh disaffected to him, found it his interest to make up a match between *Merfyn* and his niece *Effyllt*; by which bargain *Howel* was to have the Isle of Man and other lands, which he enjoyed not long. For *Howel* soon after dying without issue, they all returned to the possession of *Merfyn*.

This *Merfyn Frych* had, besides the Isle of Man, very large possessions in Wales, especially in right of his mother, who was daughter of

* Might not both *Cadwaladr* and *Ceadwalla* go to Rome?

Cadell son of the younger *Brychfael Yscytbrog*, from whom he enjoyed and was lord of all *Powys-Land* and earl of Chester; which, joined with his wife's inheritance, made him prince and proprietor of almost all Wales, and king of the Isle of Man. In his time *Egbert* the West-Saxon invaded Wales, took the Isle of Mona, and called it Anglesey, where a bloody battle was fought at *Llanfaes* near *Beaumarès*; but was soon after dispossessed of it by *Merfyn*, who at length cleared his country of those invaders. And lastly, assisting the Danes against the English, he so incensed *Ethelwolph* their king against him, that a most cruel war ensued, with such enormous outrages committed by the English against his subjects, that in defence of his people and country, he at last fell and gave up his life a dear victim to his enemies' implacable fury, leaving his sovereignty and possessions to his sole heir and successor *Roderic* surnamed the Great.

Roderic the son of *Merfyn* and *Essyllt*, to make the whole Cambrian province his own, which before had been divided into many families, takes to wife *Angbarad* daughter and heir of *Meyric ap Dyfnwal* king of *Cardigan* and prince of South-Wales, by which marriage he became sole prince and proprietor of all Wales.

Prince *Roderic* behaved himself with admirable conduct, but with variable fortune against both Danes and English; who in their turns made strong and frequent attempts to seize the Isle of Anglesey, which the English called their own: And both Danes and English with equal appetite and endeavour coveted the possession of it, as a place of first importance, in order to subject and conquer the whole province; which made prince *Roderic* remove the royal seat from *Caer Segont*, where it continued a long time, into the island. But why he chose *Aberffraw*, an unfenced open place, to fix his court at, I am not able to determine*; unless that had been before a princely palace, and that he looked upon the whole island, as the strongest and securest fort he had; and then no matter where in it his palace stood, so he had a fleet to secure the coasts, and a good army to defend the passes of the *Snowdon*. But here he fixed it; and here it continued all the time of his successors, the Welsh

* There are many good reasons why *Roderic* and the other princes before him, should pitch upon *Aberffraw* as the fittest place to fix their court. First, it is the richest part of the island, and the best corn country, to this day. And, when the island was all woody, this must have been the wholesomest part of it; being exposed to the southern breezes from the sea and mountains. Secondly, it was the part of the island by nature best fortified, and the least subject to invasion by sea; so that the prince might have sufficient time to prepare against any power that might land in any other part of the country. All the coast near *Aberffraw* is so dangerous for shipping, that sea-men never care to come near it.

princes, till prince *Llewelyn*, the last of that race, lost his life at *Buallt*, and with it surrendered his royal seat and dignity and the whole principality, into the hands of his conqueror, Edward the First, king of England; in whose line, the rights and royalties thereof, and the titles in their eldest sons, continue to this day.

I must not pass by here the recital of some of the noble qualifications of this worthy prince *Roderic* the Great; a name and character he well deserved, as being the establisher of the long continued government of the Cambrian province, where the last remains of the ancient Britons enjoyed their lives, laws and liberty for several centuries under the auspicious valour and protection of their own natural lords and masters; and much longer might they have done, if they had followed the excellent rules he laid down for their preservation and security.

FIRST, He was a wise politic prince; he shewed as much wisdom in ordering the affairs of his state, and policy in regulating the government of his province, as he had always done of valour and conduct in the wars he frequently waged against two powerful enemies, the Danes and English; who molested him on every part of his territories. For considering that so many provinces were united by marriages in him; and that the nobles and people of those provinces had been accustomed of a long time to serve their own lords and princes, who lived among them; and that some of them might be too prone to revolt to the enemy, when he could not on a sudden yield them succours, as occasions would sometimes require; he therefore caused a survey to be made of all Wales, and to obviate those foreseen inconveniencies and dangers, that might threaten his peace and tranquility, distributed the whole province into three principalities, each containing under it an assigned number of *Comots* and *Cantrefs*. The principalities were *Gwynedd*, *Debeubarth* and *Powys*. And in each of these he built a royal court or palace, viz. *Aberffraw* in North-Wales, *Dinefawr* in South-Wales, and *Mathrafal* in *Powys*. These three principalities, during his life, he governed and protected by substitutes and commanders under him; but ordained that, after his decease, his three elder sons should enjoy them, to them and their heirs for ever; and should be from thenceforth reckoned the three diademed princes, *Y Tri Tywysog Tadeithiog*. To *Anarawd*, the eldest son, he gave the principality of North-Wales, whose court he ordered should be at *Aberffraw* in Anglesey; giving him the title, at least among his own subjects, of king of *Aberffraw*. To *Cadell*, the second son, he gave South-Wales, whose court he appointed to be at *Dinerfawr*. And
to

to *Merfyn*, his third son, he gave the principality of *Powys*, whose court was to be kept at *Mathrafal*; as appears in the laws of his grandson *Howel Dda*, son of the said *Cadell*, prince of South-Wales.

SECONDLY, He was a just prince; although he divided his dominions in this manner between his three sons, yet he took care to give the eldest son a distinguishing superiority over the other two, as undoubted heir of the *Cynethian* line, appointing him and his heirs and successors only, to have the title of *Brenhin Cymru oll*, viz. "King of all Wales." And in acknowledgment of that superiority, the other two sons, their heirs and successors, should pay to the kings of *Aberffraw* a rated yearly tribute called *Maelgéd*, in token of their homage and fealty. And also that the kings of *Aberffraw* should pay for all Wales the *Teyrnged* or ancient royal tribute to the imperial crown of London, at that time, by conquest, in the possession of the kings of England; as by the constitutions of *Dunwallo Moelmutius* the whole Cambrian province was obliged to do.

THIRDLY, He was a provident prince; he divided his dominions, to enable every one of them apart by themselves, by a closer union to make stronger efforts against the attempts of an encroaching enemy. He foresaw that nothing less than a strict bond of confederacy between these new made princes and their posterity could preserve the whole in safety; and that the relation of brotherhood (if that could keep up the bond unviolated) was to be but of a short duration. Therefore prince *Roderic*, taking a paternal care of their welfare, projects as much as he could to perpetuate that relation by enjoining his three sons, now made distinct princes, and their heirs and successors after them, to maintain inviolable peace and concord between themselves; ordaining, that when any one of them was oppressed or injured by the common enemy, that the other two should *totis viribus*, assist and succour him. And well knowing that intestine broils and animosities would inevitably arise between neighbouring princes of equal strength, he added that incomparable article (which yet I do not find was ever observed) to this *Partition-Ordinance*, viz. "That if any two of these princes should happen to jar and quarrel about their particular interests, that then the third should intercede and finally determine the matter." Nay, he went herein further than general terms; he laid the case home to them in order to obviate that fatal mischief. For he expressly ordained, "That if any difference should arise between the prince of *Aberffraw* and the prince of *Dinefawr*, the three princes should meet at a certain place
which

which he named; and the prince of *Powys* should end the controversy. And if the prince of *Aberffraw* and the prince of *Powys* fell at variance, the three princes should likewise meet at a second place assigned by him, and the prince of South-Wales should compose the difference. And if a quarrel happened between the princes of South-Wales and *Powys*, then the prince of *Aberffraw*, at a third place named by him, should meet and put an end to the matter."

And, LASTLY, As a prudent and religious prince, promoting the honour and welfare of his nation and country, he ordained, " That all strong holds, castles, and citadels should be fortified and kept in repair; that all churches and religious houses should be re-edified and adorned; and that in all ages the history of Britain, being faithfully transcribed and registered, and added unto as times required, should be carefully looked after and preserved in the said religious houses, for the information of posterity, and to perpetuate the honour and glory of the British nation."

Thus I have endeavoured to trace the affairs of this small island from the time of its first planting; and to shew that it was a place of some consequence for the greatest part of the time it was in the hands of the Britons to the time of *Roderic* the Great. And what figure it made from that time and what overtures happened in it (it being the capital seat of the British princes to the dissolution of their government at the death of *Llewelyn* the last British prince of Wales) the general history of the province, first set out by Dr. *Powel*, and lately revised and published by Mr. *William Wynne*, will ease me of farther trouble to account for, and will abundantly satisfy any inquisitive reader. Only this I must beg leave to observe before I finish this section, which is, that though this island has not been so happy as to have had the court or palace of any of our English princes in it; yet we not only lived happy under the influence of their mild and gracious government, where they were; but also (which is not a little remarkable) we have by a strange compensation of Providence, the honour to say, that her late majesty queen Anne of glorious memory, as well as some of her royal ancestors before her, enjoyed the ancient kingdom of Scotland, the kingdom of England and the principality of Wales, by right of inheritance, from persons whose descent and origin were from the Isle of Anglesey. For she had the name of her family, and the crown of Scotland, as descended from *Walter Steward*, who was born at *Aberffraw*; the crown of England, in right of the lady *Margaret Tudor*, paternally descended from

Owen Tudor of Penmynydd in Anglesey; and she inherited the principality of Wales from *Gwladus Ddu*, only surviving daughter and heir of *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth* prince of Wales, born and bred in Anglesey, who was married to *Sir Ralph Mortimer*; by which marriage the inheritance of the principality of Wales in right of blood, came to the house and family of York, and by them to the crown, wherein it now happily rests.

And further also, if a right to the possession of undiscovered regions belongs to the crown or sovereignty of those kingdoms or states whose native subjects were the first discoverers of them, as the Spaniards affirm, and as the pope has confirmed, it does; then we are well able to prove, as far as any credit of history and attesting circumstances go, that his present majesty king George, in right of the imperial crown of Great-Britain, is rightly intitled to all America, by the first discovery and premier seisin of that country by one * *Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd*, born in this island—who adventured and performed the discovery of the West-Indies, returned and went again there with a colony of Welshmen above three hundred years before *Christopher Columbus* and *Americus Vesputius* made their discovery of it, on which the Spaniards ground their title to those rich and spacious regions and islands thereunto belonging.

These are great things, I confess, wherewith Providence was pleased to bless and signalize this island above other places. And as it adds to the reputation of the place to have such persons born in, and thereby such great things owing to it; I am therefore in hopes that a native of it will be at least excused for taking notice of them, in order to recommend them to the esteem and value of posterity.

The reader will, I hope, pardon my subjoining one other remark of God's singular providence (for I can call it no other) in making this island the only celebrated place of refuge to the distressed and persecuted, in the greatest calamities that ever happened to this kingdom. I have before shewed how it was an asylum to the harrassed Britons, when the invading injurious Romans distressed them. And it was no less a sanctuary to the retreating British clergy from the rage and insults of the domineering pagan Saxons, after the bloody massacre at *Bangor is-coed*, as I have already endeavoured to make appear. I shall add a third instance, in the seasonable succour this island yielded to many of the loyal clergy also in the rebellion against king Charles the First: It then alone held

* See the History of Wales, Wynne's Edition, p. 195, 196, &c. and Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels into Persia, Second Edition, p. 355, where he proves at large the first discovery of the West-Indies by *Madoc* the son of *Owen Gwynedd*, prince of Wales.

out above five years after the breaking out of that rebellion; at which time no less than * five bishops with other sequestered clergymen had sheltered themselves within it. Nay, afterwards, when the late king James the Second had unfortunately brought a persecution on the Protestant clergy and laity in Ireland, great numbers of them were driven, and made their escape hither. So that the ancient character, at least in the latter part of it, which the Roman † historian many centuries before had given it, was signally verified of this island; namely, that it was *Incolis valida & perfugarum receptaculum*, viz. so well strengthened by God and nature, as to have been a retreating defence and security to the distressed and persecuted, in many of our greatest national afflictions and calamities; which, without ingratitude to divine Providence, we could not pass by unnoticed, and without its due commemoration and acknowledgement.

* Litchfield and Coventry, Bangor, St. Asaph, Gloucester, Ossory.

† Tacitus, Annal. lib. 14.

A
BRIEF CHRONOLOGY,

RELATING TO THE
ELEVENTH SECTION;

In Two Columns, viz.

CIVIL and ECCLESIASTICAL.

A. D. CIVIL AFFAIRS.

- 46 **C**laudius Cæsar made a descent in person into the isle of Britain, and settled colonies and Roman garrisons in it.
- 52 *Caradiacus*, captain-general of the Silures, is taken and carried captive to Rome.
- 61 The Isle of Mona conquered by Suetonius Paulinus.
- 67 Nero died, and the Isle of Mona recovered its liberty for some time.
- 73 The legion, *Britannica Augusta*, placed by Julius Frontinus on the river Wisk to awe the Silures or the South-Wales men.
- 74 The legion, *Vigesima Viatrix*, placed on the river Dee to awe the Ordovices or the North-Wales men.
- 76 The Isle of Mona re-taken by Julius Agricola, and made a part of a Roman province.
- 108 Lucius, king of the Britons, embraced the Christian faith, which was preached to him by Timothy, St. Paul's disciple, and son of *Claudia Rufina*, a British lady.

A. D. ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

- 41 **J**AMES, the son of Zebedee, with his mother Salome, is said to have come to the isle of Britain to preach the gospel in it.
- 47 Simon Zelotes came to Britain to preach the gospel.
- 51 Aristobulus was sent by St. Paul and St. Barnabas into Britain, and after ordained bishop thereof.
- 59 St. Paul the Apostle came to Britain.
- 61 The Druids routed by the Romans in the Isle of Mona, and their sacred places all destroyed.
- 70 The Druidish priests forsake the Isle of Mona, and betake themselves to the isle of Man, Ireland, and Scotland.
- 110 At this time, it is probable, the doctrine of Christ was embraced in the Isle of Mona.
- 182 The great college or monastery of *Bangor Is Coed*, in Flintshire, was founded.
- 190 A great persecution against the Christians under Septimius Severus, emperor.

A. D. CIVIL AFFAIRS.

- 200 *Conan ap Eudaff*, grandfather of *Stradæten* the mother of our famous Helen *, was, under the Romans, a great prince in North-Wales.
- 260 At this time one *Lyr* was a great prince or duke in Cornwall.
- 285 *Carausius* †, a Menapian born, obtained the government of Britain, and was called Emperor.
- 292 *Alectus* made emperor in Britain, slain by *Asclepiodotus*.
- 294 *Asclepiodorus*, duke of Cornwall, crowned king of the Britons.
- 300 *Coel Goddehog* ‡ kills *Asclepiodorus*, and was crowned king of Britain.
- 304 *Constantius Chlorus* was chosen emperor.
- 316 *Constantine* made king of Britain.
- 326 *Constantine the Great* was sole emperor.
- 328 *Cynedda Wledig* was a great prince in the northern parts.
- 330 *Eudda* § or *Ostavius* was king of Britain and duke of Cornwall.
- 370 *Maximus*, Helen's nephew, marries Helen daughter of *Ostavius*, king of Britain.
- 383 *Maximus* was chosen emperor.
- 389 *Einion Urdoloe* the Honourable, son of *Cynedda Wledig*, reigned in Cumberland.
- 390 *Conan Merindog* was about this time made king of Armorica.

A. D. ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

- 239 A persecution raised against the Christians by the emperor *Maximinus*.
- 251 Another persecution against the Christians in the reign of the emperor *Decius*, called the eighth persecution.
- 256 A great persecution raised by the emperor *Valerian*.
- 286 The greatest and last persecution raised by *Dioclesian* against the Christians in all the provinces of the empire, but raged with great severity in all the parts of Britain.
- 313 *Constantine the Great*, son of *Helen*, commanded the Christian faith to be embraced through all the Roman empire.
- 314 *Constantine*, the emperor, summoned a synod of bishops at *Arles* in *Gallia*, to which three British archbishops repaired, viz. *Ivor* of *York*; *Restitutus* of *London*, and *Adelphius* of *Caer Leon* on *Wisk*.
- 354 *Pelagius* (his British name was *Morgan*) a student at *Bangor* monastery in his youth, was author of the *Pelagian* heresy.
- 364 *Kebius* or *Cybi* is said to be bishop of *Anglesey*, and to have his seat at *Holyhead*.

* This is an intolerable blunder, occasioned by our author's following the poets; who, mistaking *Coel Goddehog*, a northern prince, for *Coel* earl of *Caerloyw*—*Gloucester*—afterwards king of Britain, have made *Helen* to be the daughter of *Coel Goddehog*.

† Heylin calls him a noble Briton, and places him about the year 218. In the year 1728 a copper gold of his was found at *Cooden* in the parish of *Llanfechell* in *Anglesey*. See plate VIII. fig. 3.

‡ This *Coel* was earl of *Gloucester*, and not *Coel Goddehog*.

§ *Eudda* in all our Br. MSS.

THE SECOND PERIOD.

A. D. CIVIL AFFAIRS.

- 400 **G** Radlonus, Conan's son, reigned in Armorica.
- 420 Solomon, the son of Gradlonus, reigned in Armorica.
- 440 *Caswallon law-bir*, son of *Einion Urdd*, fixed his seat in the Isle of Anglesey, and reigned there.
- 443 Constantine the younger, son of Solomon king of Armorica, was duke of Cornwall and crowned king of Britain.
- 448 Vortigern slew Constantius the eldest son of Constantine, usurped the throne, and called in the Saxons.
- 464 Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, takes on him the government, and soon after dies.
- 481 Aurelius Ambrosius, second son of Constantine, slew Vortigern and obtained the British crown.
- 500 Uther Pendragon, third son of Constantine, reigned in Britain.
- 505 Howel, brother of Gildas, was slain by young Arthur in the Isle of Anglesey—at *Cerrig Howel*.
- 510 *Maclgwyn Gwynedd*, son of *Caswallon law-bir*, ruled in North-Wales.
- 517 Arthur, the son of Uther Pendragon, reigned in Britain.
- 520 The battle at Badon-hill, being the year Gildas Badonicus was born.
- 529 Mordred, king Arthur's nephew, married a daughter of one *Gawolan*, which is not improbable was the same as was commonly called by the Britains, *Caw O Frudain*; for it appears by the Scotch writers that this *Gawolan* was a British lord, and in great favour with king Arthur. And if the said *Caw* was this *Gawolan*, then he could not be the father of Gildas Albanus, as is gene

A. D. ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

- 455 **G**ildas Albanus set up a school in Britain, and instructed youths in arts and sciences.
- 477 About this time Merlinus Ambrosius flourished, and prophesied of the future fate of Britain.
- 481 (Vortigern was slain, and Merlin was then but young. Galf.)
- 525 About this time Daniel, son of Dionothus, abbot of Bangor monastery, founded a college for the instruction of youth in Cearnarvonshire, and called it Bangor. He was some while after consecrated bishop of that place by Dubricius archbishop of *Caerleon*.
- 531 About this time Sampson, the scholar of Iltudus, was made abbot of *Llan Garmon*, and ordained bishop, *sine titula*, by Dubricius of *Caerleon*.
- 564 Gildas Badonicus retreating to Armorica, wrote thence his sharp epistle to his brethren, the Britons, some of whom he represents therein worse than heathens, and treats the princes he falls upon with very warm and unbecoming language.
- 543 St. Kentigern came from Scotland, and had leave of one *Cadwallon* to build a college in Flintshire, called *Llan-Elwy*; which became afterward one of the bishoprics of North-Wales.
- 554 Daniel, bishop of Bangor, died and was buried in the isle of Bardsey.
- 570 Gildas Badonicus died.
- 580 (According to Baker.)

A. D.

CIVIL AFFAIRS.

rally believed, but rather of Gildas Badonicus, whose brothers, *Peirio, Gailgo, Eugrad, Caffo*, and whose sister, *Cuillog*, by this account, must be; for in our pedigrees they are always reckoned brothers and sister to one of the Gildas's; the former Gildas being too old in time to be *Gawolan's* son, it therefore must be the latter; if, as I said, this *Gawolan* in the Scottish history be the same with our *Caw* of Britain. And if that be the truth of this obscure matter, as in all likelihood it may, then these mentioned brothers and sister of Gildas might retreat to Anglesey about the time of the dispersion of the clergy, and build those cloysters; and thereby also a reason will appear, why the latter Gildas omitted the mention of king Arthur, who disinherited Mordred's sons, and why he fell so foul on Constantine, Arthur's successor, for killing them, when they were his own sister's children; occasion enough to enflame his resentments, and to vent the angry expressions he has in his epistle.

542 King Arthur and his nephew Mordred lost their lives in the battle of Camblane or Camlan.

542 Constantine, duke of Cornwall, was crowned king of Britain, called by the Britains by the title of *Cysennyn Goronog*.

552 *Maelgwyn Gwynedd* endowed the bishopric of Bangor with lands and franchises.

560 *Maelgwyn Gwynedd* made king of all Wales.

560 *Rhun*, the son of *Maelgwyn Gwynedd*, reigned in North-Wales.

586 *Beli*, the son of *Rhun ap Maelgwyn*, was prince there.

A. D. ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

596 Augustine the monk was sent by pope Gregory the Great, to the isle of Britain, to convert the Saxons to the Christian faith.

597 The archbishops of London and York were driven to Wales by the Saxons; and the Loegrian Britons extremely persecuted.

600 At this time *Taliesin* wrote his denunciatory ode, being then very old, having flourished in *Maelgwyn's* time, and been his poet-laureat.

603 This year was committed that horrid massacre on the monks of Bangor by Ethelfred king of Northumberland.

613 According to Bede, &c. so the monastery lasted about 421 years.

Gerinnius, or *Geraint*, the grandson of king *Constantine* or *Cyslennyn Goronog*, on the said *Constantine's* renouncing all worldly affairs, took on him the title of duke of Cornwall. This *Gerinnius* had a fleet at sea, and was very useful to the Britons in defending the maritime parts of Wales, as well as his own country, from the insults of the Saxons; and is therefore celebrated in a particular ode, called *Cywydd Geraint ap Erbin*, by *Llywarch-Hên*. He was grandfather of St. *Cybi* according to our British genealogies.

A. D. CIVIL AFFAIRS.

- 599 *Llywarch Hên*, the British prince and poet flourished.
 599 *Iago ap Beli* ruled in North-Wales, the founder of Bangor deanry.
 603 *Cadfan*, the son of *Iago ap Beli* was prince of North-Wales.—This *Cadfan*, together with four other British princes, routed the Saxons who massacred the monks at Bangor; he killed 10,066 of them upon the spot.
 613 *Cadfan* was chosen and crowned king of the Britons.
 635 *Cadwallo*, the son of *Cadfan*, was crowned king of the Britons.
 676 *Cadwaladr*, the son of *Cadwallo*, was crowned king, being the last crowned head of the British race.
 689 King *Cadwaladr* goes over to reside with his cousin *Alan* king of Armorica.
 703 *Idwal Iwrch*, the son of king *Cadwaladr*, returns from Armorica.
 720 *Rodri Molwynog*, son of *Idwal Iwrch*, reigned in North-Wales.
 755 *Conan Tyndaetbury*, son of *Rodri Molwynog*, reigned in North-Wales.
 810 *Efylbt*, sole daughter and heir of *Conan Tyndaetbury*, was married to *Merfyn Frych*, king of the isle of Man.
 843 *Rodri* the Great, son of *Merfyn* and *Efylbt*, reigned over all Wales.

A. D. ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

- 613 Monk Augustine died.
 616 *Deuno* built a college at *Clynnog* in Caernarvonshire.

In this century, and in the latter end of the last, we find most of our churches in Anglesey to have been built: the times of whose building I am not wholly destitute of a way to make some near guess at—for I pretend to no nicety and certainty in this matter. And the way I take is, from a computation made out of the genealogies of those patron-saints or first builders of our cells and cloysters, which afterwards came to be our PARISH-Churches. That is, by pitching on some noted person in every pedigree, whose time of living is known, and by the measure of time which so many descents, as are from those noted persons to the persons I enquire, ordinarily make; and by certain respects and relations of things or other informing circumstances, it will credibly appear,

That

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

Circa
Anu.

That St. Patrick being sent by Pope Celestine to convert the Irish, and being come to Anglesey, in his way to Ireland, built his church on the sea-shore, which was called *Llan Badric*, - 440

That St. *Eliau*, being contemporary with *Caswallon Law-hir*, built *Llan Eliau*, - - - - - 450

That prince *Pabo*, commonly called *Pôst Prydain*, for his being a great support to the Britons against the Picts and Scots, about the time of *Caswallon Law-hir*, built *Llan Babo*, - - 460

That *Llan Degfan* and *Llan Dyfrydog* were built, about - 450

That *Llan Ddogwel* chapel was built, - - - - - 530

That *Llan Rbuddiad* and *Llan Rbwydrys* were built, - - 570

That *Llan Ddyfnan*, *Llan Geinowan* and *Llanddwyyn* were built, 590

That *Llan Allgo*, *Llan Eugrad*, *Llanfaelog*, *Llan Gaffo*, *Rbôs Peirio*, and *Llangwilog* were built, - - - - - 605

That *Llan Gristiolus* and *Llanddona* were built, - - - - 610

That *Aberffraw* and *Trewdraeth* were built, - - - - 616

That *Llan Aedan* and *Llanddeniel Fâb* were built, - - - 616

That *Llan Engbenel*, *Llanffinan*, *Llanieftin* and *Llan Gafni* were built, - - - - - 620

That *Llan Fflewyn*, *Llan Gredwal* of *Penmynydd* and *Llan Reebell* were built, - - - - - 630

That *Llan Beulan*, *Rbôscelyn*, *Cod Ane*, *Cappel Ceidio* and *Llech Gynfarwy* were built, - - - - - 630

That *Penmon*-church, *Sciriol*-chapel in the island, and *Llan Feirion* were built, - - - - - 630

That *Tyfilio*, the son of *Brochfael Yscytbrog*, built his church at *Llandysilio*, - - - - - 630

That *Edwen*, niece or daughter of king *Edwin*, Built her church at *Llan Edwen*, - - - - - 640

That king *Cadwaladr*, our last British, as well saint as monarch, caused his church of *Llan Gadwaladr* to be built, - - 650

These churches, as well as all the rest throughout Wales, have their wakes or feast-days, in commemoration either of the death of the said patron-saints, or of some remarkable accident of their lives, or of the peculiar dedication of the sacred houses built by them to the use and service

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

service of religion : Which feasts the people yearly observe and celebrate, commonly on the Lord's day next before or after the parochial saint's day. And as the primitive Christians solemnized their *Fasti* or anniversary memorial-days, called by them, as well as the places they were celebrated in, *Memoriæ Sanctorum* or *Martyrum*; so we in a religious imitation of them—solemnize ours, and call them *Gwylliau Myb'r Sant*, corruptly called *Mab-Sant*—*Myfyr* or *Mybyr* being the true British of *Memoria*, or indeed the same word varied in pronunciation by a different language; for * *M*, *U* and *B* have been often used one for another in the pronouncing of Roman words in the British tongue, especially when these labials are in the middle of a word, of which I have produced many instances in my Comparative Table of Languages—on which account I conceive the ancients *Memoriæ Sanctorum*, came with us to be rendered *Myb'r-Sant*, and at last *Mab-Sant* : such deviations from original sounds in a long course of time being not uncommon ; which induces me to lay this down as the best reason I can think of, to account for the etymology of that very common but obscure name. † Dr. Davies indeed gives another reason for it, viz. *Sanctus in Cujus Paræcia quis Natus est puer*, i. e. that every native of a parish, by being reckoned its saint's son, or *Máb y Sant*, gives name, when assembled to celebrate it, to this festival. But I can never be persuaded that such a relative attribute in propriety of speaking, could give it that denomination ; for, besides the too remote congruity of that cause, it is unprecedented ; no Christian churches in any nation giving that reason for the name of their festivals ; but that of Commemoration they generally give.

* See Mr. Lloyd's Comparative Etymology, *M&B*, U. p. 22.

† Dr. Davies on the word *Mab-Sant*.

SECTION XII.

The etymology of the Comot of Mænau.

THAT the original of names, especially of places, is for the most part very dark and uncertain, and not to be traced but by guesses and probabilities, is a truth by all men assented to; yet that this tract or portion of land, called *Cwmwd Mænau* or the *Comot of Mæne*, was so denominated from the *Fretum* or channel of that name on which it borders, will be readily granted: But how that fret or channel came to be so named, will not be so easily accounted for.

Tacitus in his short notes and strictures on the affairs of Britain, only mentions an arm of sea here; but gives us no manner of account how it was then called. Neither doth Ptolomy, if his ports and rivers be now rightly stated, give the least hint of it. And if *Môr Caingc* be the true British of Ptolomy's *Moricambium**, or perhaps *Môr Cam*, as it very well may, the channel bending and winding in its passage; yet I know not, with a just regard to the congruity of the names of other bordering places by him mentioned, how well to place it here.

It may therefore be more allowable to refer the ancient and present name of this *Fretum* of *Mænau* to a primitive imposition, or a name at the first peopling of the land imposed upon it. And that seems the more probable, because its composition imports, as original names usually do, the nature and propriety of the place, viz. *Mainau*, i. e. a narrow water: *Main* being here retained for straight and narrow, and *Eau* or *Au* in France for water, to this day. And that it should be pronounced *Mæne* or *Menai* contractedly, is no unusual thing; considering that the Romans have corrupted and altered many other names from their original sounds: And it is not unlikely that they might call this water *Mænæ* or *Menei* in the *Genitive Case*, i. e. *Aqua Mænæ*, and so it continued to be called to this day.

But if any seem inclined to object the improbability of this account and reason of the name, by suggesting that the French *Eau* or *Au*, signifying water, is rather a derivative of *Aqua*, as it is generally thought to be, than that it should come from an ancient Gaulish or Celtic sound of that signification: To that, I say, it may be reasonably replied, that although it be granted that the French lisp hath smothered some letters

* *Moricambium*—*Mor icamb* (*m* and *b* equal *v* or *f*) i. e. *Môr uchaf*—the uppermost sea.

in their vulgar pronouncing of Latin words; yet it does not seem very likely that they should retain their most common letter (*q*) almost in every other word that had it before—nay very often use it where they had it not—and lose it in this, where the pronunciation of it appears to be so soft and easy. And indeed we may as fairly invert the supposition, and presume the Latin *Aqua* to have been originally derived from *Au*, that being a most ancient appellative of water in the Gaulish or British sounds, whereof we have many instances in ancient etymologies.

And that this may not appear to be a bare and groundless supposition, we may further observe, that that sound—*Au*—betokening water, seems not only to have been very ancient among the Gauls and Britons; but one may also observe some remains of that sound, either as initial or terminative, to have been conveyed to us in many ancient compound words relating to water: Which is no mean argument that *Au*, or some sound very near it, was significative of water, even at those very first times, in this western part of Europe.

For instance; as initial, *Auernus* in Italy; *Auignon* in France; *Aude* in Narbon; *Aube* in Campania; *Aa* in Flanders; *Aar* in the Alps; *Avate* in Transilvania; *Aw* in Scotland; *Avren* in Britain; and *Awyduff* or *Black-Water* in Ireland, do all of them carry some remains of that primitive sound. Neither is it unlikely that *Aber* (*B* and *U* being promiscuously sounded in ancient words) has some relation to it. And *Avon* a river, though the Latin *Amnis* might afterwards take its spring from that sound, may very well be a diminutive of it. *Awyn* or *Ewyn* *spuma vel aqua albicans*, i. e. *Aw-wyn*; *Aweddwr*, *aqua limpida*; *Aurwys* or *Affwys*, *Abyssus*, do all seem to retain this (*au*) in their composition, as significative of water or of some essential property of it, in their first syllables.

So also we may take notice of many compound words terminating in *au* or *aw*, which make that element their main and principal *Suppositum*. *Manaw*, the Isle of Man; *Llydaw*, Armorica; *Gene-au* or *Geneva*, i. e. the mouth of the lake; *Llyn Llwydaw*, in Caernarvonshire; *Alaw* a river in Anglesey; *Gwlaw*, rain; all these being waters themselves, or having their principal idea and character from water, may well justify their derivation from that origin. Neither is it unreasonable to suppose that the Gaulish or Celtic or old British word *au* or *aw*, signifying water, might some time have an additional termination affixed to it, perhaps to differ and specificate the import of the word; as when it

was

was made to mean particular brooks or rivers, it might then be pronounced *Awy*, as we find it in Ireland, *Awyduff*, black or deep water; or more contractedly *Wy*, as in Wales, where it terminates the compound names of many rivers. Which conjecture of it, as none can deem it to be unreasonable, so it being granted probable on the instances I have produced, it not only facilitates the probability of the thing in question, but seems also to account for the etymology of the names of many rivers; as *Dowrdwy*, *Elwy*, *Medwy*, *Lligwy*, *Conwy*, *Gwy*, and many more so terminating, which otherwise can scarce be accounted for. And indeed the Greek Πόταμος, a river (*m* and *u* being anciently equivalent) and the river Tame in England have some affinity with it.

However the composition of the name stands, it is most certain that we have evident tokens that the compound name itself, *Main-au* or corruptly *Mæne*, hath been anciently used and applied to such places, as the word in the sense I have now explained it naturally imports.

For confirmation of which we may observe, that the three narrowest streights about the isle of Great-Britain have in and about them some remains of the name *Mæne*; either extant in those very places to this day, or were found there in former ages, and recorded by authors of good credit. And those narrowest streights of all the British seas will, I suppose, be allowed to be, viz. the first in Kent, over-against Normandy in France; the second in Pembrokeshire in Wales; and the third at or near the Mul of Galway in the kingdom of Scotland. These two last being the shortest cuts from the isle of Great-Britain to the kingdom of Ireland, as the first is to the coast of Normandy in France.

Now for the FIRST of these in Kent, just upon the edge of that *Fretum* between us and the Gallic shore, the Roman writers, as the *Itinerary* of Antonine shews, place *Portus Limanis*, *Limene*, as in Ptolomy. Shall I turn it into British, *Portbladd Mæne*? And near that on the same *Fretum* is old *Romene*, *Rbos-Mæne* perhaps, now Rumney-marsh. It is not to be passed by here, that the Britons called the port where Cæsar landed, which was on this *Fretum*, *Pwyth* or *Portb-Meinlas*; and indeed the Greek Λίμνη may very well be a composition of those two monosyllables, *Lle* & *Main*, i. e. *Llemain*, *Portb* or ferry.

SECONDLY, On the shore of that short cut or passage from St. David's in Pembrokeshire to the West of Ireland; St. David's Point there is called *Menevia* and *Meniw* to this day. And it is no less observable that the inhabitants of the opposite Irish side of that narrow sea are by Ptolomy called *Menapii*, and their city (now Wexford) *Menapia* (with

no great alteration of sound, besides what is commonly incident to the diverse termination of different languages) from the British *Mainau* or *Mæne*, i. e. a streight or narrow sea; as it now is: And it was formerly, if *Giraldus Cambrensis* guessed right, much narrower in that place. The two abutting promontories on each side being of one name, I take it to be reasonably supposed, that they took that name from the fret or passage on which they bordered. I own that the *Menapii* in Ireland are by authors reckoned as a colony of the *Menapii* of Gallia Belgica; but if we consider that a narrow sea might have given them that name, as I suppose it did to those in Ireland, it the more confirms the supposition; since they lived so near the Belgic streights that it may be well presumed they had that name from them.

THIRDLY, In that short cut also from the *Mul* of Galway to the kingdom of Ireland, called by Ptolomy *Novantum Promontorium*, we may find just by a bay or *Esuary*, called by Ptolomy *Æsuarium Abrevanti*; which one may easily, and perhaps as truly, deduce from the British *Aber-Vene* or *Aber-Mene*, as bordering on that narrow *Fretum*; though Mr. Camden, from whose judgment I would not willingly vary, guesses the name as well as the water of that river to come from a lake called *Lough-Rian*, some miles distant from that *Esuary*.

But granting that Mr. Camden's *Lough-Rian* may pretend to the etymology of *Abrevanus*, as if called *Aber-Rian*, yet since he gives no other reason for it but the similitude of names, which surely are not so near and very like in sound, as to deserve to be fetched together from so great a distance; and *Avon*, i. e. *Aber-Avon* comes nearer to it, but that it is too *undistinguishing* a name; I am inclined to believe it was not called from that *Lough*; and that, because Ptolomy calls it not *Abrianus*, but *Abrevanus*, as the best copies have it. And especially since we find the two other shortest cuts over our narrow seas retain in them the evident marks of the name of *Mæne*, I cannot conclude this third also to have been any other than *Aber-Vene* or *Aber-Mæne*, *V* and *M* in the old British being but varying of cases in one and the same word: And that more particularly, not only because *Abrevanus* comes nearest the British *Mæne*, both in matter of sound and signification, which may of itself vindicate the derivation; but also, which will add somewhat to the probability of the conjecture, because I find many small *Fretums* retaining still something of that name; as the *Fretum* between Ramsay-Isle, and another between Cardigan-Island and the adjacent shores, are to this day called *Mæne's*. Nay, Ramsay-Isle itself was by geographers

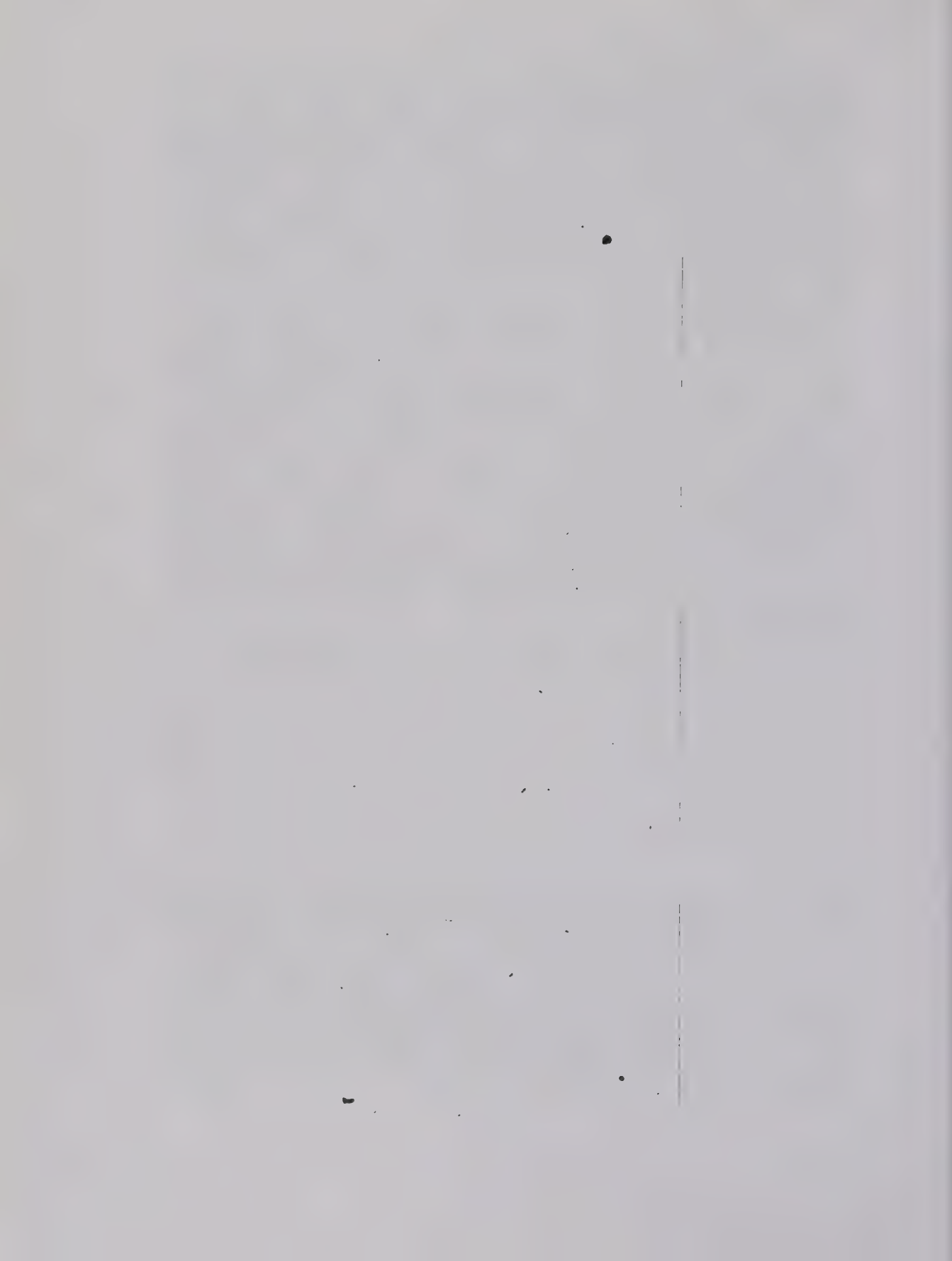
phers called *Λίμνος* and *Limenia* probably on that account. And I am told there is another *Fretum* in the county of Buchanan in Scotland called by the name of *Mæne*. And lastly, on that streight between Hantshire and the Isle of Wight, there is a small town on the edge of that narrow sea called * *Limington* or *Tref Le-Main*; and the ancient inhabitants there were called *Mean-Vari*, not improbably from *Main-Vôr*, a narrow sea; and there are three Hundreds near adjoining, which are yet called *Mean's-Borough*; *East-Mean* and *West-Mean*, bearing some tokens of that British name.

From these observations I am now induced to conclude this compound word to have been anciently the common appellative of such narrownesses and streightnings of seas, as afford the shortest passages from one land to another. And therefore, that as this narrow *Fretum* or arm of sea, which severs the Isle of Anglesey from the continent, being but a short cut over, was on that account by our first namers of places called *Main-au*, or more contractedly *Mæne*; as it is likely the other mentioned places were; so also that tract of land bordering on the *Fretum*, or on the out-let of it, came, as was very usual, to be denominated from it, and called *Cwmwud Mæne*; which I take to be sufficient to offer for the etymology of the name of that division in this Isle of Anglesey.

* This was called *Limint* by the Saxons. See Dr. Hicks's *Diff. Epist.* p. 215.

THE END of the FIRST ESSAY.

THE



THE
SECOND ESSAY:

CLEARING SOME

DIFFICULTIES

IN THE

PRECEDING ACCOUNTS;

Enlarging on some PASSAGES thereof,

AND

Answering some OBJECTIONS which have been
made thereto.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

IT is requisite to advertise the Reader, that though this ESSAY, being a defence of some passages in the preceding one, takes in the same heads of argument in the main as the other had done; yet does it not *actum agere*, as a mere repetition, but in order to bring them to bear a new force, and to set them off in a better light. For since testimonies in that remoteness of time cannot be many, and the evidence arising from them may not to all persons perhaps be so prevalent and to the purpose in one view as in another, it is reasonable towards making the best of them, to examine and turn them on every side and in every light. And therefore the Reader will soon perceive that every testimony and every argument handled in the former ESSAY, when re-assumed in this, are improved in every part, and better disposed to evince the conclusion they are produced for; which the author hopes will sufficiently apologize for his bringing the same arguments twice on the stage; which is no more than in common cases to call the same witnesses to be re-examined, in order to obtain from them a greater evidence of truth and reality of fact in the matter sought for than could perhaps otherwise be done; and as that is every where justifiable, so I presume in the case before us. And besides, sometimes from one single affirmative testimony, if it consists of a proposition, there may arise matters for several proofs, of different sorts and tendencies; and therefore when such occur, that testimony may, as often as occasion requires, be justly called for and repeated, and the doing of it be reckoned very reasonable and warrantable.

THE SECOND ESSAY:

CLEARING SOME

DIFFICULTIES

IN THE

PRECEDING ACCOUNTS.

THE way and method I undertook in the foregoing account (to which this second part by way of supplement relates) to represent what I conceived not altogether unworthy of observation in the antiquities of the British nation in general, and of the Isle of Anglesey in particular, concerning the first planting and inhabiting of them, is, I must confess, for the most part merely conjectural; having in those remote distances of time only a few testimonies of sacred scriptures as sure and undoubted principles, and the assistances of natural and moral evidence, where those authorities fail us, to build the best of our guesses and probabilities in these matters upon. Which indeed in those obscurities of time, whatever we may pretend to little historical hints and traditions, are all we have and can rely upon, before the light of history began to dawn and illustrate the world. And as it cannot be presumed that this light made any progress in the discovery of human affairs, and recording of them for the use of posterity, till some time after the settling and civilizing of nations, and that too in the most polite countries, where the use of letters began to prevail; so in this corner of the world, far enough from these early advantages, we must be content to grope in the dark, till some rays of that historical light begin to appear and direct our enquiries after what we may warrantably rely upon as truth and certainty.

On this bottom of things, I must confess also, as I have little of certainty, so as little of reason to take up with the commonly received traditions of Samothres, Albion and Brutus; conceiving those relations to be at best but insignificant doubts, and apprehending it always a much greater and more unexceptionable honour for this people and nation, at first spread over Great-Britain and Ireland and the isles adjoining, to have been *Aboriginal*, that is, the first possessors of the land (as indeed the best lights of history give sufficient grounds to acknowledge us to be) and in which we may more warrantably acquiesce; than that we should trouble ourselves with contending for our descent and origination from the ruins of any *disgraced* or *beaten* people, especially from Troy, the most unlikely part of the world; whose people the fabulous Greeks extremely magnified, to aggrandize their own conquests and valour; and from whom their poetical wits took the first subjects of their *tragi-comical inventions*; and likely others, that of ours. Yet that one Brutus, of Trojan extraction, did, some ages after its first planting, with a party of Greeks arrive in Britain, and by some means obtain the sovereignty, and gave it that name which it ever after enjoyed, is but what is on many accounts very probable. And so far I think the story may be allowed to have some truth in it, not considered as a planting and peopling of the land, but as some great revolution that happened long after.

But for all that, if it appears and consequently will be allowed, that the British people were the first known possessors of the British isles, and indeed the best and clearest accounts we have make that possession original; which is the highest reputation in respect of antiquity, and the strongest title in point of right, that any nation can pretend to, it will then be highly reasonable, and but a just procedure in us to fix there. And having in it so established and well-attested a foundation of our origin, acknowledged by many, denied by few, it will be some injustice in us to recede from it in favour of any other more groundless surmises and traditions, and a sort of ingratitude to Providence to seem fond of a more novel extraction, which when granted to be true, would but lessen our esteem in point of antiquity, and weaken even the best and surest of titles—*Et Deus terram dedit filiis hominum*—God himself, as it were, enfeoffing and giving livery and seisin to all original planters, Psal. cxv. 16. But to proceed.

As for a vindication and defence of a conjectural method within the verge of history, we may have this to say in general, that although
historical

historical certainties and well-attested evidences be what we may most safely rely upon, and warrantably acquiesce in, in the accounts of time and human transactions; yet when we are gone beyond those periods, and have launched into the deep obscurities of time, we must and ought carefully to attend to, and examine every the least glimmering of information, which we can lay hold on, either in the nature of things, or in allowed authentic traditions relating to them; and from them, and by comparing and adjusting one thing with another, adapting causes to effects, and effects to causes, as justly and as agreeably as is possible, it ought to be allowed us to form such conclusions as will amount at least to some probability and appearance of truth; which is all that can be reasonably expected in such cases.

In order to this, it will not be amiss for the better conceiving of the matter in hand, in the first place, to take notice of two things very necessary to form and establish a conjectural discourse or a rational way of enquiry. First, Principles or grounds of evidence well chosen, cleared, and ascertained. Secondly, Inferences and deductions naturally and justly drawn and concluded from them. Now, these principles are in themselves nothing else than either causes or effects of things well fixed and asserted; or testimonies, divine and human, well grounded and confirmed. And what subjects or matter soever fall more or less under the discovery of these lights and evidences, whether those subjects be purely natural as physiology in general, or mixed, viz. partly natural and partly moral, under which is history and chronology, they may in a tolerable measure (more certain informations being wanting) be more or less accounted for, in a probable hypothetical way.

For, as for natural theories and physiology in general, the explication of them is granted by all to be conjectural. And grant it we must, for no other knowledge can be attained of the frame and composition of nature, of the motion, texture and constitution of her parts, and other particulars of physiological science, but what is derived from, and merely depending on, the light and evidence of these principles.

And this being in general premised, just the same plea we have in particular for our accounting for the affairs and transactions of many of the first ages of the *post-diluvian* world. They are now, with those mentioned difficulties in the Frame of Nature, equally obscure and intricate to us; and what we would attempt to unfold and distinguish in the one and the other, must be equally in the same way and procedure; that is, by fixing and grounding our observations upon such lights and certainties.

certainities as occur to us. And by making genuine and pertinent applications of those certainities, proceeding therein justly and regularly from certain causes to the most probable effects, and from certain effects to the most probable causes, according as the lights and evidences of them in those involved antiquities, are to be met with and discovered by us.

Now, if this way of procedure be allowed in the history of nature, upon meer pretence of its involvedness and otherwise unsurmountable darkness and intricacy, I should very gladly be informed the reason why the same method should not be as justly pursued, upon the same supposal of obscurity, in the history of human transactions; seeing we may meet *there* with as good, if not perhaps much better grounds to build on our reasonable guesses. And I doubt not but the reason of it will appear very manifest and convincing, if we rightly consider the condition of these two subjects we are to make our guesses in, that is, nature and human actions. Many of the ends and designs of nature, we are well aware, are utterly unknown to us; and many more of her motions and particular ways of acting plainly surmount and baffle the most solicitous of our enquiries about them; and yet it is well known, that we are allowed to be as busy as we will with her in our guessings at things, provided we can abstain from the disobliging fault of imposing and dogmatizing.

And therefore at the same time shall it be thought strange and unhistorical, that when we wind up the successive affairs of a nation, till the clew of records be quite drawn out, and we are left to grope and wander in the dark recesses of time? Shall it, I say, be thought strange, that in such cases we pick up here and there such scattered marks and remnants of truth, as we meet with, and improve them into a few probable conclusions of human actions? especially when those very actions we account for in that way are in themselves so very agreeable to our enquiries, the ends and motions of them are so intelligible and familiar to us, that upon a supposed acted principle of reason we may well conclude the specifications of many of them (so considered) to have been no other than what we ourselves would have acted under the like circumstances. And therefore since we are on this account better judges of the probability of human than of natural actions, we ought not in reason to be denied the liberty of making a few modest guesses, when it comes in our way, in the obscurities of the one, where men are
allowed,

allowed, nay oft admired for their wild and extravagant conjectures in the intricacies of the other.

Now what is said in this particular is not to justify any extravagant rambles and groundless conjectures in the affairs of antiquity; but to vindicate the allowableness of a conjectural method in the accounts of time, and in the antiquities of nations, provided no other means of discovery are left unto us, and that the matter be not very important, by fixing here and there, in those greatest obscurities, on some solid grounds and irrefragable certainties to build up what we make our conclusions. And more particularly, by our fit and apposite bringing forth the lights and evidences of one nation and people to illustrate and assist the obscurities of the other; which when it is duly performed in proper circumstances, will, I presume, fall under the condemnation of none, but such as will themselves thereby incur the most just censure of unequal judges.

To give some instance of this in our British nation in particular; without this method, we can ascend no higher than the Roman conquest. And indeed a long time after that, what have we of the British affairs but inferences and conjectures, on which we build the chiefest accounts of our national transactions, at these remote times? And although it must be granted that by this procedure we cannot nicely determine any matters of fact, in the planting, improving and establishing of this or any other nation or people; yet some of the more general actions of those affairs, as they depend on obvious and familiar causes, may be, in some measure, and with some restriction, explicated and accounted for. For even in those remote perplexities and deepest obscurities of time, there are some glimmerings of light to be taken notice and to be made use of to inform and direct a regular enquiry. And these are some of them.

FIRST, We have Scripture Light; the divine testimony assures us, that our first stock of people travelled hither from the coast of Armenia and Babylon, and that they were of the race of Japheth, who planted the Western Isles, and consequently the isles of Britain and Ireland.

SECONDLY, We have Moral Light; that is, we are morally assured, that common reason and natural prudence conducted the progression of these people, from the place of their first spreading, through the fairest, the easiest, and least encumbered ways; where mighty rivers, dreadful mountains, and other unpassable bars and obstacles gave least impediment to their motion and progress.

THIRDLY,

THIRDLY, We have Geographical Light that plainly shews us, that this fair, easy, unobstacled way or passage from the plains of Babel to the British isles was through the vast and winding plains of Asia, to that corner of it now called Anatolia; and thence such people as crossed the Ægean Sea and entered Italy, their way of dilating themselves and enlarging their colonies was through the length of Italy, Lombardy, over the Helvetick Alps, to the plains of Gallia; and there being hemmed in on the one side by the Pyrenæan mountains and the ocean, and on the other side by the river Rhine, they moved directly to the Gallic streights and over to the British isles. Such a progression of the first post-diluvian planters, through the easiest and fairest tracts of land, where they met with least rubs and impediments in their motion, is as natural to conceive, and as reasonable to conclude, as that a torrent or flux of water will take its course through the easiest and least obstructed ways or passages.

FOURTHLY, We have Arithmetical Light; that is, a just consideration of the longevity of the first planters, and of the length and difficulty of the way, together with a calculation of the encrease of mankind by doubling certain periods, according to the ingenious Sir William Petty's rule, may afford us a pretty near guess by what time after the universal deluge the Isle of Great-Britain might come to be thoroughly planted and inhabited.

FIFTHLY, The names of certain places give us light, not only to guess what language was spoken by these first people, but also by what way they came and made their motion hither. * *Tir bën* and *Y Penwyn* i. e. Appenine in Italy: *Uxelodunum*, *Alexia* i. e. *Uchel Ddinas*, and *Arlech* in France—the Romans often writing *x* for *χ*—and many more ancient names I could mention, are good and pregnant testimonies of that particular.

I shall multiply no more instances of this kind. It is sufficient to observe, that in the greatest obscurities and unrecorded passages of time there are some glimmerings of information here and there to be laid hold on, and not to be altogether neglected; which lights being well compared and adjusted together, may be made use of, even in the highest origin of nations, to represent and set forth, though not any particular turns of action, which indeed are only transmitted by records and tradition, yet so much of the kind and quality of those actions, as may

* *Tir bën*, old land. *Y Penwyn*, white head. *Uchel Ddinas*, high city. *Arlech*, upon a stone or rock.

serve to distinguish themselves and the times they were acted in, and thereby afford such satisfaction as can in that case be expected by a reasonable enquirer.

On these grounds therefore I have, in the accounts I have given of the antiquities of this small island, been induced to proceed in the most plain, easy and natural way ; viz. First, By presuming our British ancestors to have been the first planters and possessors of our land : Secondly, By deriving their descent and by tracing their footsteps, as early and also as directly as was possible, from Armenia and Babel to this place : And, Thirdly, By selecting and fixing on such undeniable certainties, and recorded matters of fact, and circumstances of human actions, done and practised at that time when mankind was but as one nation, before it dwindled and separated into varieties of people ; and that being done, by drawing from those evidences and recorded matters of fact, such conclusions and consequences as could most fairly be deduced from them, and would, as I conceived, most agreeably and intelligibly account for and explain the grounds and reasons of those rights, customs, and other antiquities of our British nation in general, as well as what particularly relates to this Isle of Anglesey. Which is what I attempted in the preceding Essay ; and what in answer to some objections, and for the better clearing of some difficulties, I shall here in this a little further enlarge upon.

And therefore since great objections have been made to the strength and validity of some chief passages in the foregoing accounts ; and tho' the opinions and conjectures I presumed to offer must perhaps yield at last to the weight of those objections ; yet they seemed to me so well grounded, that I cannot quit my hold of them before I give them the defence they deserve, and shew the reasons which induced me to espouse and establish them ; leaving the decision to the judgments of those who will take the pains to peruse and consider them. The objections are these :

OBJECTION I.

FIRST, It has been objected that the notion I have offered of our *Cromleche*, *Karnedde*, *Meini Gwyr*, &c. is too much strained, and too remote and foreign to the circumstances of this nation. Namely, why should the Hebrew tongue give names to our *Cromleche* and *Karnedde*, when our own language may sufficiently account for their etymology ? Or how could Noah's statutes and the patriarchal practice influence and

direct our religious rites and establishments in so remote a corner of the world, so widely distant from the place and possibility of such instructions? Our ancient rites and customs were grossly heathenish and superstitious, and therefore rather to be reckoned here, as in other countries, the fruits and productions of mankind's depraved and perverted morals, than that so foul a copy should be presumed to have been taken from so fair an original.

OBJECTION II.

SECONDLY, It has been objected, that the proofs I have offered for the Druids chief residence in the Isle of Mona are no more conclusive to that particular island than to any other part of the nation; since there are in many other places of England, Scotland, and Wales, more remarkable, vast, and stupendous monuments—presumed of Druidism—than any that can be shewed in the Isle of Anglesey. And that it is much more reasonable to suppose, since the ancient Britons were divided and cantoned into many governments; and since Cæsar mentions only that supreme place in Gallia; that then every province or petty government in Britain had their own set of those religious priests residing and acting among them; and if they owed subjection to any supreme head, it must be to that one of Gallia, where we are sure by Cæsar's authority there was a head Druid; and not that in all the little governments of Britain, the whole order of these men should compose one hierarchy, and for the most part live and reside together in one particular place or territory; no ancient author ever mentioning such a residence.

OBJECTION III.

THIRDLY, It has been objected, that these ancient Druids cannot upon any good authority be entitled to so considerable a share of knowledge and learning, as is usually attributed to them; since the nation is general at that time laboured under the greatest barbarism, and the grossest ignorance that can be imagined; which cannot well be presumed they would have done under the superintendance of men of such general virtue, skill and knowledge, as the British Druids are reported to have been masters of.

These are the main difficulties I am concerned to clear and answer for: Which I shall endeavour to do in the order they are set down—premissing first under each head a few preliminary propositions or allowed:

lowed postulate, by the light and evidence of which, the conjectures I have formed and offered will be the better understood, and more firmly settled and established.

As to the first objection, the main stress of it is levelled at the accounts which were given of the original erection, names and uses of our *Cromlechs*, *Karnedde*, and *Meini Guyr*, viz. that they were all of them appurtenances and some retained relics of the first and most ancient religion, professed and practised of old by the ante-diluvian patriarchs; and handed down by Noah and his sons, and by them propagated among the new race of mankind in the re-peopling the post-diluvian world; many of which original rites and customs being (as I asserted) in all likelihood conveyed by the first planters, or by such as came next after them, in process of time came to be improved and cultivated into a national scheme of what was afterward called Druidical religion and worship. This is the sum of what is asserted in that particular, and the grounds of that assertion, I shall endeavour to lay open by the light and evidence of these propositions following.

PROPOSITION I.

It is generally allowed, that the most ancient primitive religion, both before and for some time after the universal deluge, consisted mostly of the instituted rites and performances of oblations and sacrifices; and that these also necessarily suppose consecrations and altars, that is, places and things dedicated and set apart for the worship and service of God. Of this the Mosaical History is undeniable warrant, giving us an account of Cain and Abel's oblations before the flood; and immediately after it of Noah's building an altar, and offering sacrifice unto the Lord, Gen. viii. 20.

PROPOSITION II.

It is also allowed, that the first language in which the patriarchs' primitive religion was expressed and worded, and the rites and customs, the adjuncts and appurtenances of it, denominated and distinguished, at least in the main parts and substance of it, was what has been after called the Hebrew tongue; and also that the names imposed by that language were generally such as betokened the nature or some eminent properties of the things named, or were compounded of such as did so. The first part of this proposition is pregnantly attested by almost all the ante-diluvian names recorded in scripture, particularly those of the pa-

triarchs : Which names—for instance sake—in consort together exhibit a concise and wonderful scheme and prophecy, in that language, of the restitution of depraved mankind by a promised Messiah ; as appears by the explanation of the patriarchal names in the following table :

ADAM,	-	-	-	-	Man,
SETH,	-	-	-	-	set or placed
ENOSH,	-	-	-	-	in misery
KAINAN,	-	-	-	-	lamentable,
MAHALEEL,	-	-	-	-	blessed God
JARED,	-	-	-	-	shall come down,
HENOCH,	-	-	-	-	teaching,
METHUSCHELA,	-	-	-	-	that his death will send.
LAMECH,	-	-	-	-	to humbled smitten man.
NOAH,	-	-	-	-	consolation.

which amounts to this, that when these names are written at length, the Hebrew purport of them is, “ That man set or placed in misery very lamentable, God blessed for evermore, will in his due time come down, teaching the world, that his death will bring to miserable man, rest, refreshment, and consolation,” Gen. v. 29. The Hebrew Lexicons abundantly prove this signification of these names, deriving *Kainan* from *Kun* or *Konen*, i. e. lamenting ; which it may well admit of, and is more pertinent and agreeable with the current sense of this prophecy, than from *Kanna*, to purchase or possess, which our expositors generally ascribe it to. And the latter part of this proposition is evident from the exact significancy of many ante-diluvian words, particularly from Adam’s calling his wife *Ischa*, because taken out of him who was *Isch* in that tongue, viz. Man. And his first-born *Kain*, from the word *Kanna*, importing to receive or possess, saying, *Kanneti isch æth Jebowab*, I have gotten a man [from] the Lord, Gen. iv. 1.

PROPOSITION III.

That there was a scheme of this patriarchal theology preserved by Noah, and by him preached and propagated to posterity ; as certain general rules and precepts, called by the Jews, “ The * Statutes of the Sons of Noah,” because delivered by him, and prescribed and inculcated

* *Mitzoth bene Noah*. See Remarks, Prop. III.

by them to succeeding posterity; among which precepts, it is certain that sacrifice was a principal one, and therefore must be supposed to comprehend particular rules and * ordinances under it, directing the various rites and ceremonies of that sacred action. This has been attested by an ancient Jewish tradition, and has been acknowledged by many in all Christian ages. And the latter part of this proposition is no other than a just and natural consequence of the former.

PROPOSITION IV.

That on the dispersion of mankind at Babel, and the confusion of that primitive tongue, the minds of those dispersed people under that heavy supernatural stupor, then by divine vengeance inflicted on them for their impious attempt, retained and preserved nevertheless in that miserable oblivion some † saint shadows of such words, and some obscure relics of such objects, as had made before the strongest, the deepest, and most durable impressions on their thoughts and imaginations. And such must be chiefly and principally of those names and things, which either related to the visible acts and performances of religion, or to the more necessary and important concerns of life. The first part is confirmed by evident proofs from the event of things; it being plainly to be observed, that as the most visible and public acts of religion, namely, sacrifice, have been retained, remembered and practised by almost all nations; so the most important affecting words of that primitive tongue have likewise crept with some little variations into most of the mother-tongues. And the latter part of this proposition is evinced from a just view and consideration of the affections of human nature; where we plainly see the impressions of religion so strong and unconquerable, that few or no means or accidents that occur are of sufficient force to deface and obliterate them.

PROPOSITION V.

That the Hebrew tongue (though in itself of a narrow extent, yet in the scheme and structure of it) abounds in a diversity of words of one and the same signification, more or less as the thing or action expressed is of greater or lesser concern and importance to human affairs; and those synonyma equally expressing the thing signified, the evidence produced

* See Gen. xxvi. 5. where Abraham is said to have obeyed precepts and commandments; and to have kept statutes and laws, before God instituted the Mosaic law.

† See Remarks, Prop III.

from one word proves and concludes the same thing of another word which carries the same purport, and is of the same extent and signification. The former is evidenced by the grammarians of that language; and the latter is the natural result of the conformity and agreement between the fixed and determined meaning of all words or signs and their just and proper ideas, or things meant and signified. These are the grounds I lay down and insist upon; and the applications I shall make in the clearing of these objections will be chiefly supported by the strength and evidence of them.

C R O M L E C H E.

Of these *Cromleche*; First, Their make and structure; and, Secondly, Their name, will be applied to account for their original use and institution; the settling and determining the accounts of our desolate monuments and visible remains of antiquity being of singular use to establish an allowed Archæology of our country.

FIRST, The make and structure of these monuments (which are generally large, rude, flattish stones raised on other pitched and upright ones of the like irregularity and coarseness) seem to indicate that they were originally erected for altars. Now it is plain that altars [by Proposition I.] were an appurtenance of the religion of the patriarchal age: And indeed the accounts we have in the sacred records of those first altars will shew that the construction and other circumstances of them come very near to the make and figure of our *Cromleche*.

For it is there said, that as soon as Noah and his family were come out of the ark, they builded an altar unto the Lord, Gen. viii. 20. Now to build—בנה *Ædificare* in the original—constantly imports the erection or raising of stones one upon another. And this notion of the word is somewhat exegetically amplified in another place, viz. Haggai ii. 15. where such a construction is expressed, אבן על אבן * viz. stone laid on a stone. And also the Chaldee word for an altar, viz. *Madbecha*, from *Debach*, i. e. *Strues Lapidum*, as the word imports, that is, a parcel of stones orderly erected, much confirms it. Such, it seems, were their altars then; and such are our *Cromleche* at this day. And as our *Cromleche* are made up of very rude and unhewn stones, so we may well suppose, the circumstances of many of those first altars after the flood could afford them to be no other; particularly Noah's,

* *Eten al Even*, that is, *Br. Mass or Facs*, to which our Saviour seems to refer, Mat. xxiv. 2.

who at his first coming out of the ark could have but such natural, coarse, unhewn stones as the mountain afforded, to erect his altar. And further it is presumptive also, that they had then a strict precept for such an erection, if that—Exod. xx. 25. “Thou shalt not build an altar of hewn stones.”—be (as a great part of the chapter is) a repetition of the old original law, which the patriarchs before that time in all likelihood strictly observed, and other nations, probably after their example, as strictly followed. Hence it will appear not improbable, that our *Cromleche* are but the remaining effects of that ancient law and custom of *not striking a tool* upon the stones of their *altars*, but to build them up of the rudest ones they could meet with. Which law (to trace it by those effects) we may well conclude to have prevailed likewise in these countries; and that these mentioned monuments of ours are some of the remains of that ancient institution and custom.

SECONDLY, The name also, viz. *Cromleche*, may seem to be no other than a corrupt pronouncing of an original Hebrew name, viz. *בֵּטֶר לֹחַ* *Cbemar-luach*, a burning or sacrificing stone or table; or perhaps more likely, as I before intimated, from *לֹחַ חָרֵם* *Cbaremluch* or *luach*, i. e. a consecrated or devoted stone or altar; as we find the word * *Cbarem* applied to several devoted things. Both which names so compounded, that is, as well *Cbarem* as *Cbamar-luach*, corruptly *Cromlech*, do very well agree with the make and quality of these altars. And though the word by which those altars are usually expressed in scripture be *Mizbah*, from *Sabab*, to slay or sacrifice; yet by Proposition V. it is no argument that other names of it were not in use in those ancient times, especially such as these I here instance; which names so closely corresponding with the nature and quality of those altars, both in form and signification, might very well by Proposition IV. be retained and conveyed with the uses of them by our first ancestors into these countries.

It may be further observed, that our language yet retains some other words that have great resemblance in their signification, as well as in their sound, with original words relating to sacrifice; particularly with *גֹּלֶתֶב* *Golothb*, i. e. burnt-offerings: Out of which word it is not improbable our *Golwyth*, a slice of broiled flesh, as that of the Heathen sacrifices was; *Golychy* to pray, and *Golychwyd* a place of prayer, the

* Levit. xvii. 28. Num. xviii. 14. Josh. vi. 18.

Latin *Colo* to worship, and probably also *Coelio* and *Coelcoeth*, may by Proposition IV. be originally derived. And indeed if it be granted that these or some of them be truly deduced from *Gnoloth*, I can see no reason but that *Cromlech* may be as truly deduced from *Camar* or *Cæremhuach*, as is here supposed. In short, altars we are sure we had; and if these *Cromleche* be not the remains of them, it will be very difficult, I think, to shew any other.

Neither are certain places called *Cremlyn*, perhaps corruptly from *Cremlwyn* (there being no standing water in those places by which they might be *Crem-lyn*) to be altogether despised; but rather to be taken as some collateral evidences for this signification of the names of these monuments. For if our ancestors on the fore-mentioned account called their devoted or sacrificing stones and altars *Cromleche*, they might very well call their sacrificing groves, whereof we are assured they had a great many, by the name of *Cremlwyn*. The word *Crem*, a relic either of *Chærem* or *Chamar* as I presume, having by a new propriety of acceptance, as many transplanted words usually do, assumed unto it the idea and notion of sacrifice; it is therefore on this account somewhat probable that *Crymmy*, i. e. "bowing and bending down the body," a posture of worship, might be originally derived and metaphorically used from these *Cromleche*, because people generally bowed and worshipped at them; as words expressing some actions, are not seldom formed and qualified from the names and characters of their objects and local circumstances, of which there are not a few instances. And if this be so, then the pretence that is made of deriving the word *Cromlech* from the British *Crom* or *Crum*, a bending crooked posture, will be of little use, except in this case only, when it is metaphorically taken from the name of such places, and applied to peoples' bowing and worshipping at them. And it is observable that the stone monument, mentioned Levit. xxvi. 17. by the name of אבן משכית *Even-Maschcith*, which the vulgar translation calls *Lapidem insignem*, is by the Chaldee Paraphrast called *Lapis incurvationis*, the stone of bowing or worshipping; as if he had read it אבן משחית from שחית *Incurvare*: Which may serve to shew, that as the ancients expressed adoration by the word *Incurvation* or bowing, so they wanted not their *Cromleche*, stones or altars denominated from the quality of that sacred action.

It is true, that many persons, and those not meanly conversant in antiquities, take *Cromlech* to be derived from *Crom* or *Crum*, as betokening properly the crooked bending posture of those erections. And since that

that is the only etymology I ever heard pretended to, on a meer British account; I shall here take the liberty to scan a little the congruity and coherence, which the propriety of the terms *Crom* and *Llech*—allowing them to have no relation at all to *Chærem* or *Chamar*, but to depend on a pure British etymon—have and bear in just signification to the condition and quality of the thing expressed. Now, I say, it is usually thought that *Cromlech* does genuinely and fully express the figure and posture of the stone or monument which is so called, which indeed may be easily shewed it is far from doing.

For, if we consider the propriety and common acceptance of the terms, we shall find that the notion and idea of the word *Crom* or *Crum*, as it is commonly taken, meant and noted in our British Lexicons, has no agreement at all with the shape and figure of any of these stones, that I could observe. For *Crom* or *Crum* always denotes a thing bent and crooked in its own external superficies; and is never expressed but of one individual subject. As in lines the curve is ever quite contrary to a right one, so in surfaces, which are but a complication of many lines, the curve in the constitution of it is opposite to the plane. And the very same notion, in substance, we may observe the vulgar to have of the word *Crom* or *Crum* totally answering curve in the compleat idea of it; as is evident not only from the term itself, but also from the visible concretes and compounds we have of that word, as *Gwar-Crum*, *Crymman*, *Crimmog*, &c. in every one of which we may find it to be a curve and bended posture of one individual substance.

Now *Crom* being such in the common acceptance of it, how can it be applied to both the erect and incumbent flat stones of these monuments, which are never crooked in themselves, but always of irregular plane surfaces? And to say that they, one with another, lie in an oblique and bended posture, mends not the matter. For, as was before observed, every crooked thing must be so in itself, and in its own surface; for the inclinations, oblique positions, and incident contacts of distinct surfaces, are not properly a bending, but a joining and terminating in angles. And this notion all people have of it; no one saying, a crooked table, a crooked chest, &c. So that by what has been said, it is, I suppose, somewhat manifest, that *Cromlech* cannot in any propriety of speaking be deduced from *Crum*, as betokening any curve or bended posture, which the word *Llech* rejects as destructive of its notion and incompatible with it. And therefore the adjunct *Crom* must have some other signification to give an intelligible idea of the thing

meant by the composition, which by the present Welsh we are not able to account for; unless it be taken metaphorically, as was before observed, from *Crymmy*, i. e. bowing and worshipping at such places. And if that be the reason of the name, then the matter falls even with my argument, and the conclusion comes to the same issue, viz. that both our *Cromlech* here, and that famous stone idol *Cromcruach*, in Ireland, described by * Mr. *Flabarty*, are derived from the word *Crymmy*, to bow and worship; and this *Crymmy* may be as fairly deduced from *Chærem* or *Chamar*, as from any other etymon by Proposition I and IV. which is all I shall urge in this matter.

K A R N E D D E.

These are vast *Cumuli* or heaps of stones in many places extant in these as well as in other parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and perhaps in many other countries of Europe. I have conjectured them to be some remains of most ancient patriarchal practice, retained and put in use by our idolatrous ancestors, as a particular mode of worship, exercised and chiefly celebrated at some great solemnities—principally of covenants and federal sanctions, both public and private, and sometimes of ordinary oblations and sacrifice; to which opinion there are two things that give a favourable inducement.

FIRST, The congruity of name, and the easy and natural resolution of it into the language of those patriarchs, that is, the Hebrew tongue, in which those primitive rites and customs were at first instituted; † קרן-נדב *Keren-Nedb*, i. e. a coped heap; being a Hebrew compound expressing the shape and figure of these *Karneddle*, will seem by Proposition II. to have been imposed by none but such people as vernacularly used that language; and we cannot pretend to entitle the vernacular use of it to our own or any Western nation since our departure from Babel. So that on this account it is not unreasonable to conclude, that a most ancient practice, as the heaping of stones on some solemn occasions certainly was, carrying with it a primitive name (as one part of the composition, namely, *Keren* undoubtedly is) and no other domestic etymology offering itself; it is, I say, on this account, not unreasonable to conclude it to have been a primitive rite and custom, con-

* *Ogygia*, p. 196.

† קרן i. e. *Karnedd*, as a heap, *Psal.* xxviii. 7. Vide *Buxt. Lexic.* p. 453. *Schindler, Lexic.* p. 1083.

veyed and put in use here by our first ancestors; and in time brought to be a considerable appurtenance of their religious scheme and institution. And as to the other part of this compound name, viz. *Nedb*, although it must be confessed, that the particle *edb* be a very usual termination of many British words, and consequently may be taken to be no other than such in this; yet finding in this appellation that the two components of the name, viz. *Keren* and *Nedb*, naturally agree to express (*in composito*) the one with the other, both the matter and figure of the thing signified; and observing also, that in South-Wales they call it not *Karnedd*, but *Karn*, where the termination *edd* is as frequently used as in any part of Wales, which we can scarce believe they would omit in this, if that sound were no more than a grammatical termination; hence I conclude that this is a composition of two words, containing two distinct ideas relating to one and the same subject; tho' it is not improbable but that some dialects of our tongue might use only one of these words, curtailing the composition, and calling them *Karn* for *Karnedd*; as many words are known to have been abridged and shortened, and yet made use of to express the full extent of their determined meaning.

SECONDLY, The similitude and agreeableness of circumstances, which are observed between these monuments and that of Jacob and Laban in the land of Haran, described by Moses, Gen. xxxi. 46. give, as I observed before, a very favourable countenance to this conjecture. Now to go on with this instance a little further than I did then; the similitude and resemblance between our *Karnedd* and Jacob and Laban's heap (called by the one *Galeed*, by the other *Iegar Sabadutha*) not only in their make and erection, but also in their attendant pillars, are plain and undeniable; and also evident to any one, who by comparing that recorded passage with the circumstances of our heaps and their pillars standing by them, will observe their exact conformity and resemblance.

This passage of Jacob and Laban seems in the whole scene of it, recited Gen. xxxi. 44—55. to have been so great and solemn a transaction, consisting of so many acts and ceremonies, of invocation; of swearing by the name of their fathers; eating of bread; watching, and particularly of sacrifice, which was ever the highest and most essential act of their religion—that it seems very manifest, that it was no new thing, and at that time first made use of, and practised by those two parties; but rather an ancient patriarchal usage, always consented and referred unto, and then by these persons applied and practised. For

else what means the calling of these heaps by these two persons by two several names importing one and the same thing, but that they knew them, and were used to call them so before in their different idioms? And indeed the main of the ceremonies thereon used, viz. calling upon God, swearing by the name of their fathers, and especially sacrifice, seem plainly to intimate that it was at that time no novel but an ancient institution and practice: And being so, we as well as they, may be well supposed to have carried with us, even into these countries, some imitations of that primitive pattern, and be thought to have derived our custom of heaping stones, as well as Jacob and Laban did theirs, from one and the same original, that is, the *Noachidum Statutis*, the patriarchal rubric.

Now the two different names of these heaps in regions so near adjoining, as Jacob's and Laban's were, come up seasonably to answer an objection that may start up here; namely, that if it be true that these *Karnedde* and that heap of Jacob and Laban did proceed from one origin, viz. the patriarchal practice, then how is it, they had not both retained the same name? But to this I say, this instance is a plain answer. For if the two next adjoining countries used two different names to express one and the same thing of this heap, as we find they did, the one calling it *Galeed*, and the other *Iegar Sabadutha*, both names implying one and the same signification, viz. a heap of witnesses; much more then is it allowable for the more remote and western Celtæ, our ancestors, to call it by a third name, which they had, it seems, retained of it, namely, *Keren-Nedeb* or *Karnedd*; and which is as expressive of the quality of the thing signified as any other. And indeed by Proposition V. it is the same thing in effect, among synonymous appellatives, to use this or that word to express the thing thereby signified. For if *Gal*, *Iegar* and *Nedeb* be synonyma or words equally importing one and the same thing in that primitive tongue, namely, a heap or *Cumulus*, as it is certain they are; then by Proposition V. it is no matter which of the three was retained, the thing was thereby naturally and fully signified; the difference between our *Keren-Nedeb* and their *Galeed* and *Iegar Sabadutha*, being only in point of circumstance. We all express the thing, but with the thing meant we express the shape and figure of it, calling it *Keren-Nedeb*, a coped heap; and they the use and practice, calling it *Galeed* and *Iegar Sabadutha*, i. e. a heap of witnesses, because of the fœderal use and designment of it. And therefore if these two parties, viz. Jacob and Laban, who differed in the name, but
 joined

joined and concurred in the performance of the action, took their different names to express and betoken those fœderal heaps; why then should we who have a name of equal antiquity, and equally expressive in the primitive tongue of the quality of those heaps; and who have also a plentiful number of those heaps and their attendant pillars to this day to shew; I say, why should we on such concurring evidences scruple to allow our *Karnedde* and that of Jacob and Laban in Chaldea, to have been of one and the same extraction—namely, a derivative rite and custom conveyed to us from the ancient patriarchal practice?

That these monuments or stony heaps are called *Kairns* or *Kerns*, without the addition of *Nedb*, in Scotland, Ireland, Cornwall, and Armorica, I will not deny. But yet whoever considers how much the ancient British tongue has been in those countries altered and corrupted by the incroachment of and mixture with other languages, thereby perhaps occasioning that curt pronouncing of the word; and also will remember that the North-Wales Welsh, which always calls it *Karnedd*, is the purest and least tainted with foreign mixtures of all the British dialects, will not, I suppose, be far to seek for a reasonable answer to this difficulty. It is well known to be very usual for many words to lose some part of their sound—of which we have many instances—when a foreign language, tyrannically interposing, changes and mixes syllables, and by a variety of customs, humour or fancy alters idioms, and contracts and lengthens the variable tenor of accents and pronunciation.

One thing further deserves our notice, as to these *Karnedde*, which is, that they appear to have been originally in their erection and figure very round and conical; which manifests that what additions of stones from time to time these *Karnedde* have had upon them, must have been on the very tops and summits of them, where the stones being successively thrown, they must have fallen and tumbled down equally on every side, and so mechanically form the *Agger* or whole *Karnedd* into a somewhat depressed conical or parabolical figure, of which shape our *Karnedde* generally are.

Now what those additions of stones on the very tops of them (for so the figure of the heaps shews they were) might mean, unless there was, as on that of Jacob and Laban, a sacrifice performed there, I think is unaccountable; or at least very hard to determine. And if we suppose them to be sepulchral monuments, and the stones to have been thrown on the sides of them at all adventures by passengers, then they would

not

not have been round, as they are, but rather of an oblate irregular area ; their sides in one place bossing out, and in another depressed and sunk in, as such an accumulation would necessarily produce. It is true, there have been bones found intermixed with the stones in some of these heaps, and urns and altars in others ; which may prove some argument of their having been used for immolations and sacrifices. But it is certain, the holy text intimates as much as if the apostatizing Jews (no doubt in imitation of the Heathens about them) used altars of this form. " They sacrificed" (says the scripture) " bullocks in Gilgal, yea their altars are, גלגל *Galgalim*, i. e. like to those heaps we have in the furrows of the field," Hosea xlii. 11. Judea being a stony country, they gathered the stones into heaps, as we do, in the furrows of their ground. And then how near the figure of those little heaps, to which the prophet resembles some of their altars, comes to the shape and fashion of our *Karnedd* I need not stand to urge.

Whatever the first instituted original uses of these larger *Cumuli* were, it is more than probable to me, that they came at length to be used only for oblation and sacrifice, and that of the worst sort of victims, viz. of rogues and profligates. *Qui sunt in furto, aut latrocinio, aut aliquâ noxâ comprehensi, gratiores Diis immortalibus esse arbitrantur*, i. e. says Cæsar, " Such as are the greatest thieves, rogues and villains, are ever accounted the most acceptable sacrifice to the immortal gods."

Now that such nefarious criminals were sacrificed on a *Karnedd*, and not on a *Cromlech*, where perhaps only the more innocent victims were offered, I take the vulgar practice among the Britons, Scots, and Irish, of heaping stones and raising little *Cumuli* on the graves of such wretches (which they continue to do without knowing why, but that they found it the custom of their elders) to be no inconsiderable argument of the probability of that conjecture. Neither can I here avoid instancing the known practice of the Jews, in putting to death their vilest malefactors with stoning or throwing and heaping of stones upon them ; commanded Deut. xvii. 5. and practised Joshua vii. 26. Though that way of putting people to death for certain crimes be in these texts of Moses first mentioned and put in writing ; yet we have good grounds to presume that it was the determined punishment of those very crimes in the ages before ; and *that* we have to suppose more particularly, because of the moral end and purport of it, viz. the taking away of the evil from among them, as it is there expressed ; and consequently that removing and taking away of the evil being by an express law to be performed

and

and effected by every one's throwing his stone on the victim, in token of his execration of the fact committed, and for a general expiation of the guilt thereof, as it is particularly specified in the law of Moses, viz. "the hand," i. e. "the stone of every one shall be upon him," Deut. xvii. 7. On account therefore of this particular, it may not be at all improbable that other nations likewise did retain that practice; it being a symbolical expiation founded on a moral principle, and consequently a dictate of natural religion, to remove the evil before any good can be expected; so thriftily did these priestly judges, our Druids, convert legal punishments into religious expiations and atonements.

However, this is certain, that the other day people having occasion to take away some lime-stones from a *Karnedd*, which is in *Plás Newydd* wood, formerly called *Llwyn Moel*, in Anglesey, they found near the top of it, on one side, about a yard deep in the stones, the bones of three persons lying close to one another, not at length in a straight but oblique posture, stragglingly with their heads downwards. They seemed to be the last that were slaughtered there, being so near the top of the *Karnedd*, and not unlikely at the Romans invasion and conquest, when people here were driven to their greatest expiations and sacrifices. In short, as these larger *Karnedde* may well seem to have been the remains of some ancient rite of worship, so there wants not ground to affirm the lesser *Cumuli* to be merely the tombs and sepulchral monuments of ancient heroes.

M E I N I G W Y R.

Our vast columns and unwrought pillar-stones found erected here and there in several places as well of this as other countries, I have also conjectured to have been an appurtenance or relic of some instituted rite or custom of mankind's first and most ancient religion. And on that supposal I have represented the primary uses of these pillars good and laudable, as being (some of them) peculiar appurtenances of instituted religion. And others of them the most public and visible records of things in those first inaccurate times. Of these latter sorts are the pillars of the sons of Seth, which Josephus mentions Antiq. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Of the former are those of Jacob in Bethel, Gen. xxviii. 18.

Now if this was the use of these rude unshapely columns and pillar-stones, viz. to have been symbols of special consecrations, and a sort of temples in those first ages of the world; it is no wonder that their use hath been retained and variously applied by almost all nations of people.

They were in some countries, when idolatry prevailed and religion grew more gay and pompous, improved and advanced from their original rudeness into curiously wrought and polished columns of several names and orders; and at length into stately and magnificent temples. In other countries they were enormously raised into pyramids and obelisks. And in some places also, particularly in these northern countries, and in some parts of Asia, they retained for many ages their first natural form and coarseness. All this happened as the nations who made use of them more or less indulged novelties and pompous appearances, or tenaciously adhered to more ancient and primitive establishments, though ever so rude and barbarous.

We have little reason to doubt, that in the first ages of the world, the venerable names and memory of the most heroic worthies and benefactors of mankind were in many places continued to posterity in those unhewn columns and erected pillar-stones, * before the more polite arts of sculpture and imagery had room to be entertained among the more curious sort of men. Thus Jacob, a zealous preserver of the patriarchal rituals, secured the name and memory of his beloved Rachel in an unpolished pillar-stone erected on her sepulchre, Gen. xxxv. 20. And Absalom in the midst of his days chose such another to preserve and continue his name and renown to the generations that were to come, 2 Sam. xviii. 18. And such was the monument of king David, hinted at Acts ii. 29. and mentioned by St. Jerom in his epistle to Marcella.

These being the two most ancient uses that we read of in history or any records of these erected pillar-stones, viz. either set up as local consecrations or symbols of the *Schekinah* or divine presence, as those of Bethel were; or else of sepulchral monuments and memorials of name and honour, as those of Rachel and Absalom were; we want not reason to conclude them to have been the effects of a primitive order and institution. And therefore by Proposition I. and IV. we may affirm, that these rude columns and huge erected pillar-stones, now standing here and there in these countries, have been anciently, where many of them are together, local consecrations and temples; and where dispersedly and singly erected, memorials and sepulchral monuments.

We find indeed that God himself sometimes commanded the erection of such pillar-stones, and that very considerable acts of religion and wor-

* *Antequam accuratè tententur Imaginum habitus, Veteres Columnas erigentes, eas colebant tanquam Statuas.* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1.

ship by God's own appointing were celebrated at them; as particularly at Gilgal, where God commands Joshua to take up twelve stones, a stone for every tribe, and to pitch them up for a memorial of their passage over Jordan; and these twelve stones (says the * text) which they took out of Jordan, did Joshua pitch in Gilgal. And as we find that these erected pillar-stones and columns in the earliest ages of the world made up their *Proseuchæ* or oratories; so those places, being planted about and surrounded with groves of oak, compleated with them the notion of temples and sanctuaries. This is very evident of those sanctuaries and pillar-temples in Syria and Palestine, which are commonly described in the holy scripture by groves and pillars, as I have before shewed.

It is as evident from the sacred scriptures, that these pillar-erectiōns, when the true religion began to fail, became the idolatrous objects of divine worship. And hence it is that we find God, even in the days of Moses, giving strict warning to the Jews, that they should not adore those pillar-stones, which it seems they were then wont to do. "Ye shall make you no idols," (saith God) "nor graven image," (which in the original is "*Even Masebitb*," i. e. "a stone of bowing," as I have before noted out of the Chaldee paraphrast) "neither rear ye *Matzebab*," i. e. "a standing pillar, to bow unto them, or worship them," (Levit. xxvi. 1.) And on the account of the idolatrous abuse of these pillar-stones and of the groves about them, it may seem, it was, that God at last absolutely forbade the use of them. "Thou shalt not plant a grove of any trees," (says God) "near unto the altar of thy God which thou shalt make thee, neither shalt thou set up a pillar which the Lord thy God hateth."

In all these places, the word *Matzebab*, a derivative of *Jatzab* to set up or erect, is to be taken for a rude uneffigiated erected pillar-stone—no other than just such as our *Meini Gwyr* are—because the propriety of the word, and the circumstances of the texts mentioning them, demonstrate them to have been of that sort. And indeed, the better sort of expositors take them to be such, though our translations, following the Seventy in that particular, generally render them *images*.

But that these rude unwrought pillar-stones should be honoured with divine worship, is a thing very strange to imagine; yet that they were so honoured and worshipped in ancient times, is a truth past all dis-

* Josh. iv. 20.

pute. And their being worshipped is some argument that they were originally sepulchral monuments and erections, effected by depraved mankind, partly in imitation of the before-mentioned patriarchal practice, but most chiefly and generally out of an over-weening desire of immortalizing the otherwise perishing names and memory of men, by these visible, more lasting monuments. And this will appear very accountable from the reasons that may be given of the original of idol-worship, viz.

FIRST, The great and famous heroes and worthies of those times dying and leaving their mighty name and renown recorded and transmitted to succeeding ages in these lasting monuments; admiring posterity, out of excessive veneration to their transcendent worth and virtues, became very prone to reckon their departed souls among the gods, esteeming them a middle sort of divine powers, and calling them *Δαίμονες* or *Δαιμόνα*, viz. mediators or agents between the celestial gods and mortal men.

SECONDLY, When men thus esteemed the souls of those deceased heroes as deities, and accounted them worthy of divine honours; they thought of no fitter place to afford them this adoration than at their sepulchres and monuments: esteeming those places as certain fixed and peculiar residences and habitations of those deities. And these monuments there erected (perhaps called by the names of the men departed, which by the way may somewhat account for our *Meini Gweyr*, i. e. our men-pillars) they accounted *Statuas animatas, sensu Et spiritu plenas*, as Trismegistus calls them; or *Ἀγάλματα θείας μεθεούας ἀνάρπεια*, as Jamblichus words it. i. e. “Idols filled with divine influence, and animated statues furnished with something within them that hath life and perception.”

On these accounts I conceive these erected statues and columns came at first to have been worshipped, and to have had divine honours paid to them by the idolatrous Gentiles. And as the genius of the nation or people who erected them varied, so they, either avoiding novelty and innovations, as the Gaulish Druids did, paid to them their adorations in their rude natural forms; or else as other nations who affected novelties did, they insculped on them human shapes or other figures as they pleased to fancy, and adorned and flourished them, raising over them magnificent structures and temples.

And this indeed I find to have been the very notion which antiquity had of the original of idol-temples; and which the primitive fathers, taking

taking advantage of, used to upbraid the superstitious Gentiles with. *Specioso quidem Nomine*, says Clem. Alex. in *Protrept.* *Templa dici, fuisse autem Sepulchra*, i. e. *Sepulchra ipsa vocata fuisse Tempa.* And Arnobius contra. Gent. lib. 6. tells them to the like purpose, *Quid quod multa ex his Tempa, quæ Tbolis sunt aureis & sublimibus elata fastigiis, Auctorum Conscriptionibus comprobatur contegere cineres atque ossa, & sanctorum esse corporum Sepulturas*, i. e. "They are called indeed temples, but they are only the graves of dead men; and it is evident by ancient writers that these august temples, however adorned and venerated, are but the cases and conservatories of dead mens' bones and ashes, over which, and for whose sake, they were first erected."

And truly, as to our erected monuments and stone-pillars, the few inscriptions that have been found upon them testify them to have been the burying-places of noted persons; or at least that such whose names they bear have been buried near, or not far from them. And these were all of middle or latter times. But of very ancient inscriptions, such as may be presumed to be from the times of Druidism, I think I may positively say, there are not any among us. Which if so, may serve for an argument that either that ancient sect totally abstained from the use of letters; or they took it to be an unpardonable crime to inscribe them on holy things; or else they closely adhered to that ancient law, "Not to strike a tool upon their sacred things;" which, I think, was never observed to have been done. Those monuments that now remain are exactly after the pattern commanded by Moses, as you may see, Josh. viii. 31. viz. "Monuments of whole stones, over which no man hath lifted up any iron;" being indeed of the rudest stones, whether they be standing pillars, or erected altars or *Cromleche*. Neither can I see any reason but that the names and characters which many of these pillar-stones now shew upon them might have been hammered there many ages after their erection, as people took fancy to be interred near them. And the very little art that is generally to be observed in their way of cutting their letters, and the usual disproportionate largeness of those letters they have, may be thought to cause them to write at length, sometimes upwards, sometimes downwards, on these stones in their erect and standing posture. I except always such stones as are cut and modelled;—crosses, beacons, and the like—which are known, in comparison of the others, to be but of late erection.

Now that these stone-monuments already mentioned, whose remains are still among us, made up a considerable part of our ancient consecrations, and were indeed our *Proseucha* and temples, the evidence of my fourth Proposition may be good warrant to affirm. For when sacred records assure us that one branch of mankind's national divisions, in the re-peopling of the world, used such open places for the exercise of their sacred performances, namely, the ancient Hebrews; and when those very records describe and distinguish those places to us by the solemn erections of heaps, pillars, and altars; and particularly assert that those three famous ones of Mispah, Bethel and Gilgal were no other than stone-monuments; it is therefore but just to conclude, that other nations, particularly our own, used and practised also the like customs of forming and making up their places of worship with such erections and monuments: And that in a more particular manner we may reasonably infer, because the former (I mean those which are intimated to us in scripture) were effects of most ancient primitive order and institution; and that of the latter there are so many remains, exactly paralleling the circumstances of the other, to this day visible in many places, as well of these countries as of all Europe, that we cannot chuse but ascribe them to one and the same origin and institution.

Thus it seems to me that God in those ancient times, before he determined his *Schekinah* and divine presence to the Mosaick tabernacle and the Jewish temple, had his sacred places in several parts of these countries, where devout men presented themselves before him. And seldom any of these occur in scripture, without the mention of some stones erected in such places. And some places have their names and characters from those very erections; as at Bethel, where we have a sort of a consecrating *Formula*; "And this stone (saith Jacob) which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God's House; and he called the name of the place Bethel," i. e. God's House, Gen. xxviii. 19. and where also we have some part of the ancient rites and ceremonies celebrated on those stones set forth and typified to us in Jacob's action of pouring wine and oil on the stone-pillar at Bethel, Gen. xxv. 14. And I have heard of some stones, observed by the learned Mr. *Edward Lloyd* of Oxford in some part of Wales, which had a little cavity a'top, and a groove or channel running down the side of them, as if those ancient *Libamina* were also retained and made use of among our British ancestors. And indeed we need not much wonder that devout men in the patriarchal age, and others in imitation of them, paid that veneration to, and placed such

such sacredness on, the religious use of these erections; when we consider, besides what other warrant these might have for it, that it is plain in the scriptures, that God continued to appear to men in no one form longer and oftner than in the "form of a * pillar," Exod. xiii. 21. 22. I forbear to bring the adorable humanity of Jesus Christ into the comparison, as an exception in this case, for it is above it; the body of Christ being hypostatically united to the Godhead, which the cloudy pillar was not, though the divine presence for some time manifested itself in it. Such erections seem to have had some mysterious reason for them, now unknown, which induced the usage of them.

These most ancient pillar-temples, if I may so call them; and places of adoration, had also groves of oak generally planted about them; from which groves the very places of worship surrounded by them were sometimes named and characterized. . . As † *Alloun Moreh*, ‡ *Alloun Matzab*; § *Alloun Baccuth*, i. e. The Grove of Moreh; The Grove of the Pillar; and, The Grove of Weeping. And hence I have conjectured our ancestors also, retaining some part of that primitive sound *Alloun*, to have called their sacred places—always surrounded with these groves—*Llwyn* or *Llan*. And our Christian churches have been generally built at or near those ancient sanctuaries, as appears by their having to this day (many of them) some remains and monuments of ancient worship standing near them. And probably people's minds were sooner drawn to make their first Christian meetings at their anciently accustomed places of assembling. I say, our Christian churches seem on this account to have taken their name *Llan* from that of *Llwyn*; with the addition of some Christian name, that had been signalized in that place, instead of their former heathenish characters and terminations. And indeed by weighing this matter a little we may find, that although the words *Llan*, *Sanctus*, *Holy*, do now betoken *divine* and *sacred*; yet it is sure that the ideas represented by these words in ancient times intimated no more than || *Enclosing*, ** *Establishing*, and † *Planting*—all these being notions relating to these superannuated groves; as *Yd-lan*, *Corpblan*, *Perllan*, *Gwinllan*, and in Irish, *Druixlan* for a *sanctuary*, explain the first; and the common notion of *Sancio* to this day is to *confirm* and *establish*; and *boly*, in the old Saxon. ¶ seems to betoken originally no more than *bott*

* Gen. xii. 6. † Judg. ix. 6. ‡ Gen. xxxv. 8.

§ *Significat autem Columna; Dei non posse effingi imaginem.* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i.

|| *Llwyn-Llan*, ** *Sancio*, *Sanctus*, † *Heli*; *Holy*.

¶ It is remarkable, that *Haaric* in the Saxon is a name or word that expresses both grove and temple. See Dr. Hicks, Gram. Anglo Sax. p. 5.

or *grove*—until every one of these words in course of time came to be metaphorically used to express not the *nature* of the things formerly meant by such words, but the *action* therein performed, which was *divine* and *sacred*, as they are now taken.

LASTLY, The congruity of the use and application of our ancient sacred places with that of the Jewish *Proseuchæ* and sanctuaries, is no mean argument of their being both derived from one pattern, viz. the most ancient patriarchal practice. Those set places in Judea and Syria, we are warrantably assured, were their great *Forums*, i. e. their places of judicature, as well as their *Fanums*, i. e. places of religion and worship. For we read, that all Israel were often called to convene at Mispheh: And in like manner at Bethel and Gilgal they had frequent conventions*. Nay, we read that Samuel went from year to year in circuit to Bethel and Gilgal and Mispheh, and judged Israel in all those places, 1 Sam. vii. 16. How agreeably therefore is this with what Julius Cæsar affirms of our Druidical temple in Gallia? *Si certo Anni tempore confidunt in loco consecrato; huc omnes undique qui controversias habent, conveniunt; eorumque judiciis decretisque parent*, i. e. “They meet together, viz. the Druidish priests, in a certain consecrated place, every year, and judge all the people.”

These places in Jewry, though when the temple was built they lost that prerogative, yet we are told were continued by the Jews as peculiar places of prayers and public assemblies, on occasion, even to the time of our Blessed Saviour. And how exactly some of them resembled our mentioned cirque or theatre at *Bryngwyn*, I leave it to any one to judge, who will but consider and compare what I have said of that with the description which † Epiphanius, who was born and lived in those countries, gives in his tract against the Messalian heretics, of one of those sacred places. *Est & Sicimis quæ hodie Neapolis dicitur, Proseuchæ locus, extra urbem, Theatro similis, secundo ab urbe lapide positus, quem ita aperto cælo & aræ subdiali extruxerunt Samaritæ, Judæorum in omnibus imitatores*: “We have at Sichem an ancient *Proseucha* in the open air, raised up like a cirque or theatre by the Samaritans, in imitation of the Jews.” Now whether this be any remains of the ancient sanctuary at Sichem, mentioned Joshua xxiv. 26. I leave to be considered.

* Videtur Medium in Josh. xxvi.

† Epiph. tom. 2. lib. 3. Cap. 80.

OBJECTION II.

The Second Objection is, That the proofs which are offered for the Druids' chief residence and metropolitical presiding in the Isle of Mona, especially such as are drawn from the monuments and remains of Druidism there, are not absolutely conclusive with regard to that place; since other places of the British territories, by that argument, are more justly intitled to it: And also that it does not historically appear, that these men did preside and govern in the affairs of religion over the whole Isle of Great-Britain, as asserted.

This is an objection which the particulars I asserted are liable to; and therefore to remove the force and charge of it I shall be obliged, as in the last, to establish a few preliminary propositions, by the strength and evidence of which I shall be better able to set things in their true light, and more easily and intelligibly unfold the grounds and reasons of what was asserted in these particulars. And therefore I premise that,

PROPOSITION VI.

It is an allowed maxim in history, that general characters and intimations of actions or persons are sometimes pregnant and productive of equipollent specific determinations. Thus Platina saying that the pope, and Suetonius affirming that an emperor made at times the chiefest figure in Rome, is just the same as if these authors had expressly said that Rome was once the emperor's, and once the pope's city.

PROPOSITION VII.

In concatenated and necessarily depending actions, such are the schemes of religious polities and the like, that the position of some essential particulars in a place or society of people necessarily infers the existence of the whole. Thus some particular necessary episcopal actions in some cities in the apostles time and immediately after, are good evidences of episcopacy's being planted there at those times.

PROPOSITION VIII.

That the evidence of tradition, where there is no suspicion of fraud or foul play in the first setting on, is always very considerable: And when it is backed with unexceptionable records and authorities, it is still the greater. But when confirmed also with the concurrent testimonies of ancient names and monuments, it is the greatest of moral certainties. Thus when tradition tells us, that such a town in Britain or Gallia

was

was a legionary station, we give it some credit; when good authors attest the same, we believe it; and when coins and altars and other remains of antiquity confirm the same, we then have undeniable certainty and assurance of it.

PROPOSITION IX.

That among the separate and different states and conditions of people in every polity, such as the governors and the governed, it is not always a true and just consequence, when the qualities, especially the moral and intellectual ones, of the one party are inferred and concluded from those of the other. For it is evident that the gross stupidity and barbarousness of some nations and societies of people are owing principally to the skill, craft, and more extraordinary subtilty and knowledge of their guides and governors; their ends and interests in those matters being founded on quite different bottoms.

PROPOSITION X.

That the principal and most important characters in the reports of considerable actions are strictly to be observed, and therefore justly to be expected, in good historians; and where those characters are wanting in such authors, the negation and absence of such particulars, in such places, where they should have been mentioned, is as justly concluded. Thus the historians of Europe at this day, not mentioning a word of the Turks or of their religion in any of our Christian states and kingdoms, but in those of Turkey and their other conquests, will be one day a very good argument, that those Turks really were not, where they were not mentioned; and that their residence was where their appearance was mentioned to be, that is, only in the Turkish dominions.

These being axioms of allowable credit in the affairs of history, we may the more firmly depend on their light and authority, and apply their evidence as occasions offer to clear some difficulties that will occur in this point of history we are now upon. Which tho' I confess it to be of no great moment whether they resided here or no; yet as it adds something to the character of the place I am accounting for—and that as trivial matters as itself have been warmly contested, when the truth of history comes to be concerned in it—especially since the greatest Roman authors have not disdained to enlarge on the subject—so I take it no unbecoming endeavour to make good the reasonableness of the conjectures I have advanced upon the before-mentioned authorities,

ties, in relation to this matter, by all the fair ways I can : Which, as a reply to such as may incline to insist on the stress of this objection, I shall attempt to do, by suggesting in defence of the opinion these following considerations.

FIRST, Let it be considered, that by *residence* and *metropolitical* in this assertion, is meant no more than that the grand society and whole order of these Druids, i. e. their physiologers, priests, and lawyers had their first admissions, were initiated and prosecuted their studies, underwent their functions, and made the chiefest part of their abode and living in this particular place ; not that it should be conceived that there was a metropolis here which had a standing authority and jurisdiction over the other parts of Britain. It is only meant, that wheresoever the whole order of this religious sect resided, *there* was supreme authority in matters relating to religion and discipline ; that authority resulting from function and office, by way of personal prerogative, and not of local privilege and pre-eminence. Of this plain description of Druidical authority, the character given them by antiquity is a full justification. So also that their residence was a sort of conventual association or abiding together in one place, is discoverable from the quality of their learning and discipline, which was all communicated by *oral tradition*, i. e. by word of mouth from one person to another ; for they ever abstained both in their teaching and learning from the use of books and letters. This way of discipline, attested to our hands by good authorities, necessarily required, and as necessarily concludes their living and associating together for the most part in one place, by Proposition VI.

SECONDLY, I offer it to be considered, that if the Druidical hierarchy was metropolitical in Gallia, as by Proposition VI. if we believe Cæsar who plainly affirms it (*his præst Unus*) we cannot at all deny ; then it will follow, that when these unexceptionable authors, viz. Cæsar and Tacitus affirm the same religion and the same discipline as were in Gallia to have been in Britain also, from whence at first they had them ; it follows, I say, that that hierarchy in Britain was also metropolitical, and that the affairs of Druidism, in the full extent of it, were directed here, as well as there, by one supreme head and governor. And it will also appear by Proposition VII. that what is conclusive of Gallia from what Cæsar affirms of the head Druid and his consecrated seat or station there,—*Carnutum Regio*—the same is applicable in Britain to such place or persons as seem most justly entitled to the same qualification and character ; identity of rules and discipline ever supposing a con-

formity of rites and ceremonies in places remote and distant. And therefore it is but just to conclude, if the people in the many cities of Gallia, and the several governments thereof, resorted to that one place, as Cæsar assures us they did, and there submitted to the Druids' decrees and judgments; that the people in the several states and principalities of Britain also might do the like: nay it is next to evident that they did so. For Cæsar expressly says, as I intimated before, that the Gaulish discipline came from Britain; which is an argument of no small weight, that what was done in Gallia in observance of that discipline was more accurately and strictly performed by the different interests and governments within the isle of Britain; and consequently that their discipline was here metropolitical in the sense I have explained it.

THIRDLY, It is to be considered also, that since Cæsar, giving a character of the Druidish discipline in Gallia, plainly intimates that the same sort of discipline obtained in Britain; and since Cornelius Tacitus, some time after Cæsar, does as plainly affirm that the Britons used the same religious rites and superstitions as the Gauls did; we have thence good warrant to conclude, that as in Gallia so in Britain (for to suppose one over Gallia and Britain is, on many reasons that I need not mention, most improbable) they had one head Druid—*Qui summam inter eos habuit auctoritatem*—as Cæsar accounts of their chief one in Gallia, “who had supreme authority among them;” and one place—*Ubi certo Anni tempore confidebant in Loco consecrato*—as Cæsar delivers it, where at a certain season of the year the Druidish priests came from all the cities and places, where they had their dispersed stations and employments, and attended their chief and primate in his supreme consistory—*Ubi omnes undique qui Controversias habuere, convenerunt, eorumque Judiis Decretisque paruerunt*—viz. “where all persons from all parts of the country, who had any suits or contests in law, made their appearance, and were finally determined by their decrees and judgments;” *Et ubi magnus Adolescentium Numerus Disciplinæ causâ concurrebat, & eorum nonnulli Annos vixenos in Disciplinâ permanferunt*—“And where great numbers of youths resorted to be trained up in the Druidish learning, continuing their colloquial studies sometimes twenty years together in that place;” while many of them, no doubt, were dispatched abroad to the several provinces and cities to officiate in the affairs of religion and judicature. All this we must presume to be true of the isle of Great-Britain as well as of Gallia, else we fall unavoidably into this dilemma; that is, either we must deny the plain testimonies
of

of both Cæsar and Tacitus, against the sixth Proposition, the former asserting the whole discipline of the Gaulish Druids to have come from Britain, and therefore proves it to be there; and the latter as plainly saying, that it was there, by his saying that the Britons rites and ceremonies of religion were the same with those of the Gauls; or else we must allow but one head Druid over Gallia and Britain, making of both but one hierarchy, and consequently that the Britons were obliged from all parts to resort to the middle of Gallia for redress of justice, against all probability. And though it be true that some of the Gaulish Druids did come over seas to Britain for more exact knowledge in the Druidical discipline; yet that rather proves, that the whole discipline, viz. supreme authority, inferior orders, and a fixed seat and residence was in Britain itself, independent of any other place; and therefore having all that at home, they can be supposed to lie under no engagements to have recourse to such remote and foreign jurisdictions.

FOURTHLY, I offer it also to be considered, that since it is now somewhat apparent that Great-Britain hath had its own academy of Druids, and that some of the Gauls in Cæsar's time frequented it, as a place of more regular discipline than that they had at home, whether there may not be some evidences, or (what will amount to such, collected from tradition) special circumstances of fact, names of places, agreeableness of situation, and peculiar monuments and remains of antiquity, which may bid fair to point out the very *place* to us, though no authentic records do positively affirm it. And if that be granted, whether also the proofs I have offered for the Isle of Anglesey, which were agreeableness of seat, tradition, special circumstances of fact, and ancient betokening names and monuments, may not deserve some weight to be allowed them, till either better proofs are produced for another place, or it be made appear to be utterly impossible to assign any that may afford a reasonable satisfaction. And therefore I shall now, under this consideration, beg leave a little further to enlarge on the particulars following.

FIRST, Agreeableness of SEAT and Commodiousness of SITUATION.

AS to what hath been said in the former Essay of the agreeableness of seat and fitness of habitation for these Druids in the Isle of Mona, above any other place of the British territories, it was only made use of there in reference to their choice of such a place for settling

their then new-formed institution and establishment. Yet it may not be unusefully assumed too, as an argument *à priori*, viz. that on those mentioned advantages they did actually chuse such a place for their abode and cohabitation; since by that way of arguing, which is not to be neglected when it falls in with other evidences, we can have this to say, that what before and above other places seems most likely to have determined their choice to fix and settle in it their principal seat and residence, may be well presumed to have done so. And besides, upon a full view and consideration of those advantages we may farther urge, how convenient, nay, how necessary it was for those societies of people, who were to give strict unbiassed judgments in all countries, to have a place separate and removed from all, and dependent on none, as this island was. And when we observe that few or no other places in all Britain were so agreeably and advantageously situated for all those ends and purposes, as I have endeavoured to make appear this Isle of Mona to have been, we shall perhaps be on those grounds alone, were there nothing else to be urged in the matter, not very unwilling to allow the determined seat and residence of these ancient Druids to have been in no other place of Britain, but in the Isle of Anglesey and its dependent territories, including the Isle of Man and other adjacent islands.

SECONDLY, TRADITION.

I Need not say much to establish the validity of traditional evidences. They are ever accounted of prevailing weight, when the tradition carries with it these marks, viz. is grounded on notorious and well-known matter of fact; and when its conveyance down is free from all suspicion of fraud and falshood; and lastly, uninterrupted. And in this case the tradition I urge may be observed to carry with it all these notes. For, with respect to the First, viz. notoriety of fact, what can be more notable and memorable than what religion and solemnity imprint on the minds of men? And such, no doubt, was the notion of this island's being the chief seat and seminary of this religious fraternity. Secondly, There could be no fraud or falsity in the handing down of this relation, because owned by all the neighbouring countries to be true; who if that relation had not brought its assurance and credibility with it in all ages would be inclinable enough (we may be sure) to oppose and gainsay, and in case it added to the place any repute and value, to detract and invidiate. And, Thirdly, An interruption in the

conveyance of that account or tradition cannot be alledged; because it was conveyed down and continued to us, in the successive generations of one and the same people, from that time to this day.

Now if all assertory traditions are but continued affirmations of some formerly well-known, evident, and notorious matter of fact, and consequently if the continuation of this tradition of the Isle of Mona's being the prime seat of the Druids, be not, or was not so much as suspected to have been, unsincere and corrupted, there can appear, I think, no reasonable grounds to reject or deny what is asserted by it. We cannot but expect that an eminent overture and transaction of a place, such as being the prime seat and residence of so noted a society of men as that of these religious Druids at that time certainly was, must have been talked of and remembered for many ages after the dissolution of their society. And though the intermediate times and persons through which this tradition made its conveyance to our hands, were confessedly very gross and barbarously ignorant, and also productive of monstrous fictions; yet this matter handed down by them, being very brief and important, and having also crept perhaps into the vulgar character of the place, (for it is probable enough that antiquity meant more by that saying—*Môn Mam Gymru*—than is usually taken) they cannot be supposed to have quite forgotten it.

But since they forgot it not, neither in Scotland nor amongst us, as I have made appear in that part of the proof I have before offered; and in Scotland they pretend to ancient annals, at least to ungainfayed tradition for it; why then should we scruple to yield some credit to antiquity in what is very plain and intelligible, and wherein there appears no assignable cause or reason that tradition should impose upon and deceive us in the accounts of this particular? Indeed, fame is sometimes very profuse in her rodomontades, and lavish in her fictions as to things and places; namely, when interest, humour, or some vulgar vanities warp and sophisticate her informations. But when a general consent, seconded by circumstantial evidences and probabilities of the thing, upholds the report, we must surely be very sceptical to mistrust her accounts and reject her informations.

THIRDLY,

THIRDLY, AUTHORITIES and SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF FACT.

WE are indeed wholly destitute of any express positive evidence from any authentic writer to confirm this conjecture about the Isle of Anglesey's being the chief seat and academy of the British Druids. Yet by Proposition VI. from some special circumstances of fact, observed in Cornelius Tacitus's relation of the conquest of the Isle of Mona, we may be enabled to draw some consequences, which duly weighed may give strength to that conjecture, at least in concurrence with other arguments.

Although it be true, that Tacitus was never himself in Britain to be an eye-witness of the Roman actions performed here; yet we may well presume he had his information from those that had been, who could give him as complete and punctual accounts of the most material and considerable turns of action, as if he had been himself upon the place. And we have no room to doubt the characters he gives of places, things, and persons, where he touches on them, but that they are the just, complete, and well-proportioned images of those truths of fact, which the keenest eye-witnessing judgments of eminent friends, in their several posts, had carefully observed and represented to him: And therefore we may, I think, not unjustly conclude by Proposition X. these two consequences from that author.

FIRST, Since this exact author mentions not in any part of Britain so much as the name of a Druid, but only in the Isle of Mona; that it is highly probable there was no appearance of such a remarkable place of Druidical residence to be taken notice of in any of the conquered provinces of Britain, but what he observed and characterized of this place.

SECONDLY, When he mentions in this Isle of Mona such amazing appearances of this sort of men, so many parts and appurtenances of their worship—such a deal of their ceremonies and incantations—such spectacles of horrid sacrifices—such rites of aruspicy and divination—all these being confessed particulars of their religion and worship, and setting forth the whole action rather as a grand religious ceremony than a battle; I say, all this being considered, it is by Proposition VI. and VII. an intimation equivalent to his expressly saying in other terms, that the Isle of Mona was the capital seat or head-quarters of these religious Druids.

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For it is all one to express a thing by an enumeration of its parts in a separate disjunctive order, as by putting up the parts into one idea, and so call the things by one general word importing the whole; both which ways are naturally expressive of the thing intended. And here indeed we have this other reason to add to the confirmation of this particular; namely, if Corn. Tacitus did not by that passage of his intend to give us an intimation of this island's being such a place, we must either conceive, that the Druids and their chief seat and residence made no considerable figure in his eye, and so the mention of them might be well omitted; or if they did, we must think that he kept not up to the laws of history, to omit their character upon the mention of any circumstance relating to them. But neither of these can be presumed to be true; that author being by approved consent allowed to have been an exact accomplished historian. And indeed these Druids, where they were really found to reside in any considerable numbers, were soon taken notice of, and had a very suitable becoming character given them by him in his way of writing; who if they had been found, as they were in the Isle of Mona, in any other places of Britain, we may presume would have met in him with a mention suitable to their appearance in such places.

But since we find no such character, no mention of such a place, or of what may be presumed to have been such, by this author in any part of Britain but only in the Isle of Mona; and since there too he is not short, considering his style, in the description of their persons, array and carriage, of their ceremonies and imprecations, of their groves, altars, and inhuman sacrifices and barbarities; and is indeed wanting in nothing but in telling us in downright terms that it was the Druids' chief seat and residence, at least at that time; I say, considering all this, I could do no less than conclude this island to have been that place of residence; especially since in many parts of it not a few ancient names and monuments and other circumstances may afford sufficient grounds to any who are unprejudiced to rest in that conclusion.

And if it be yet further objected, that though it be granted that this Isle of Mona was then found full of Druids, and it be true that the chief conduct of affairs lay then in their hands; yet it does not follow that it was always their chief mansion and peculiar place of residence: for being an island and place of retreat and safety, these priestly Druids may be supposed to fly into it from the reach of the Roman storm, and endeavour to take shelter in it to avoid death and slavery. To this it
may

may be replied, that it is very unlikely they should be *here* only on that account. For if only fear and regard of safety made this superstitious herd at that time flock to this island, it betrays a greater ignorance in that sort of men than can be well supposed they could be guilty of, viz. to fly for shelter and refuge to an untenable place *, where they might be sure to be caught as in a pound on the first attack of the enemy; whereas they had much better have kept themselves in the mountains, or fly to the North of Scotland or Ireland, where they might be very safe and out of danger.

But above all, the consideration of the many ancient names and monuments of Druidism to this day extant in many places of this island, will make it appear that they had a more fixed abode and a longer establishment of their society and order in this country, than what will consist with but a bare appearance of them *here* for their defence and safeguard, and that in a transient flight and hurry. And if it be farther urged, that those names and monuments, granting them to have been Druidical, may yet be supposed to have been the effects of a very short stay of these men in this island; though we should allow that some of these pillar-stones, heaps and altars might be raised in a very short time, it is not yet to be imagined to what end men in that case and circumstance should of a sudden erect such and so many of them. And though it be possible they might so erect them to some ends now unknown; yet it deserves to be considered, that those sacred groves which the historian particularly mentions could not be set up all of a sudden, but must be at that time of long and ancient standing. And if we reflect on the ancient usage of erecting altars first, and then of planting groves about them, of which custom we have particular intimation, Deut. xvi. 21. where God himself says, “Thou shalt not plant a grove of any trees near” (or about) “the altar”—shewing thereby that the primitive usage of the Heathens was first to build altars, and after to plant groves about them; and our practice here being before shewed to be a transcript of one of those heathenish customs; we may then very well conclude, that our altars, pillars, and other erections, were as ancient as, if not before our groves; and consequently were no effects of so short a stay, but must be of more remote continuance in this island; that is, (if the largeness of some of their *Karnedde* may afford us any guess, by the gradual encrease and heaping of them yearly) they might be extant *here* a long time, perhaps many ages before the Roman conquest.

* See p. 59, where he assigns the safety of this island, as a reason why the Druids chose to fix here.

FOURTHLY,

FOURTHLY, Ancient NAMES and MONUMENTS.

IT is already intimated that these religious heathens had groves and altars for their sacrifices and other appurtenances of their religion in this Isle of Mona; and that these must have been here long before the Romans conquered the island. Yet I am far from concluding the residence of these men in this place from the evidence of these monuments only, and exclusive of tradition, circumstances of fact, and other probabilities already produced. But yet even singly and from that evidence alone, I think, I may appeal to any who will judge impartially of the matter, if our monuments in this island, and together with them the particular apartments and places of abode of these Druids, by their names to this day extant betokening the distinct orders, offices, peculiar works and employments of that sect, do not bid fairer for such a claim of primacy and superiority of seat and residence in this island, than in any other place of the British territories, where some of the like monuments are, though much larger than ours, yet altogether destitute of such ancient betokening names and characters, or indeed of any the least marks and evidences of Druidism, except only their bare site and position. For indeed, magnitude and immensity of structure, which many of them in other countries have, cannot be allowed to be so good arguments, as the Druidical names and characters are, of this particular.

It must be confessed, that there are some of these monuments in Scotland and in the isles adjoining, which by the traditional account of people, as Hector Boetius affirms, are said to have been the ancient temples of their gods; some of which are larger than those I have described in the Isle of Anglesey. And I find that the same has been attested by Dr. Gordon, a learned antiquary of that kingdom now living, who avers that there is an ancient tradition among the people, that these circular erected monuments belonged of old to the *Drownich*, as they call them, whom he interprets the Druids. And since the first writing of this Essay, I find another author, viz. Mr. Martin, in his History of the Western Isles of Scotland, confirming the same by express and particular instances. - So also in many * places of England and Wales there

* It is not improbable but that the Head-Druid, with his colleagues, did hold general assizes or courts of equity in these places in the several provinces, for the conveniency of peoples' resorting unto them, and that in time of peace they frequently made their circuits in these places to judge the people.

are some very stupendous stone-monuments, and many of lesser size, to be taken notice of, which for bulk and some sort of regularity seem to surpass those of the Isle of Anglesey: Some of them consisting of a great number of erected pillar-stones with incumbent cross ones, in a triplicate, duplicate, or single order; some of them with *Kist-Faen*; some with *Cromleche* in the center of their area; and some with mounts made of earth and stones near them; and some also with rampiers and entrenchments about them; all of them generally—when many of these stones are ranged together—of a circular or elliptical figure in their plots and area. The discovery and accounts of many of which we owe to the indefatigable diligence of the late Mr. *John Aubrey*; and we are in expectation from the learned labours of our exquisite antiquary, Mr. *Edward Lhwyd* of Oxford*, of a more accurate account of our British antiquities, in reference to local and etymological observations, than has been yet published.

Now these mentioned monuments, though much more august and specious, many of them, than any we find in the place I account for; and though granted to be Druidish, yet in themselves, without other concurrent evidences, are no concluding arguments against another place's being the chief seat and residence of this ancient order; no more than are some more splendid and magnificent churches at this time (if I may use the comparison) against another's being supreme and metropolitical, which is far less elegant and stately, as many such are known to be. The vast inartificial grandeur of many of these last mentioned monuments argue rather the power and riches, the pomp and magnificence of such people and countries, who went to the expence of raising those prodigious erections, than any superiority of jurisdiction in such places.

We find not in any of these places, where the mentioned Mr. *Aubrey* and the learned Mr. *Edward Lhwyd* have discovered to us many, and those undoubted monuments of Druidism, any names, tradition, or anywise attested circumstances of fact, at or relating to any of those monuments; nor any of them bearing the least resemblance of such a name, except † *Stenton-Drew*, that should induce us to believe them to have had that prerogative of seat and residence, as we find in the Isle of Anglesey.

It is true, that in the Isle of Anglesey, where three main parts of the evidence we have in this particular (i. e. advantage of site, tradi-

* This essay was writ before Mr. *Lhwyd* died. † *Stone-Town-Drew*.

tion and recorded circumstances of fact) offer themselves above any other place in the British territories, there are not now to be seen any monuments of that insane structure and magnitude, as Mr. Camden very fitly terms it, as *Stone-Henge*, *Roll-rich* and *Awbury*, and some other erections seen in other countries; yet most certain it is, that there are in it a greater number of those monuments of all sorts, than can be shewed in any one place of thrice its dimensions in all the Isle of Britain. Many of which I have described and accounted for; and they seem to bid as fair as any for that primacy of seat and residence, except only in the wildness and immensity of their make and structure; the people of those ages (it seems) affecting above all things a stupendous vastness, together with a natural inconcinnity and rudeness in the compilement of their sacred erections.

But in the Isle of Anglesey, besides the appearance of greater plenty of Druidish monuments, such as I have endeavoured to prove our *Crom-leche*, *Karnedde*, and *Meini Gwyr* to have been; I have shewed likewise no less than four townships, viz. *Tre'r Dryw*, *Tre'r Beirdd*, *Bod-owyr*, and *Bod-drudau*, to bear in their sound and signification evident tokens of that ancient religious order. And all these four places or townships, situate and lying together upon one slang of ground in the most amœne and delightful part of the country; and having more also of these monuments to this day visible within the verge, or on the confines of them, than some whole countries can shew; therefore by Proposition X. I take it to be plain, that the designation made of this place by so many concurring evidences—the like not to be found in any other country—may very well amount to an historical demonstration that the ancient Druids' supreme and principal residence, which Cæsar, Tacitus, and the very nature of their discipline avouch they had in some one place, was in the Isle of Anglesey, at least for some considerable time before the Roman conquest.

And as to the names of these townships; if it be objected, that they do not clearly discover and denote any special characters of Druidism, because the etymology of some of those names may proceed and be accounted for from some other more late causes; I shall then in reply offer it to be considered, that if it appears, that the reasons and grounds of the composition of these names of places and townships now mentioned be, with the most manifest probability and congruity of circumstances, to be deduced from some special notes and characters of Druidism, sometime peculiar to that place; that then it will also appear to be no

good reasoning to oppose to those manifest probabilities an only bare possibility of their being accountable for on other grounds—especially if it be considered withal, that we are not likely to meet with any such grounds or causes, natural or accidental, that may so conveniently lay claim to the propriety of all four, as that of Druidism fairly does. For though singly some of these names may perhaps be liable to be urged beyond a bare possibility upon other etymons, as that *this* or *that* may be the reason of their being so-called; yet in conjunction the one with the other, when the one may be taken to explain the other, and when the agreement and congruity of their circumstances resolve themselves on a Druidical basis, it is therefore a manifest probability that these townships got their names meerly on that account.

Here let us take along with us what has been already hinted out of Tacitus, namely, that the Druids in the Isle of Mona had groves and altars consecrated of old, and dedicated to the inhuman barbarities of their religion; and out of Strabo and others, that the professors of that religion were classed and distinguished into *three* distinct orders, viz. of *Druids*, *Ovates* or *Evates*, and *Bards*; or rather into three several functions or offices performed by persons particularly titled by such names; and that the Druidical order was also divided into two parties, one whereof was the supreme head or chief Druid, and the other the inferior subordinate Druids; which are all four distinct orders and titles.

Now as there is in that mentioned place of the island a particular precinct bearing the particular respective names of all these orders, viz. *Tre'r Dryw*, of the head-Druid; *Bod-drudau*, of the inferior ones; *Bod-owyr*, of the *Ovates*; and *Tre'r Beirdd*, of the *Bards*; and as these four orders or titles made up their whole hierarchy; so those four precincts denominated from these orders, and situated together, minister no small probability of these orders cohabitation and chief residence in that place or territory.

Of Tre'r Dryw and Bod-drudau.

IT is not to be doubted, but that the names used by Greek and Latin authors to express these religious persons, were taken up from Gaulish and British sounds, such as they heard them call themselves by; and being so taken up, were pronounced and written by those authors, a little varied and inflected into their own idioms of Greek and Latin terminations. For so we find them expressing plurally, *Druid-æ*, *Druid-es*, *Δρuids-αι*, the

the *-es-ai*, being their terminative additions; and the sound they took them from was most likely *Druwydd*; and that being in all probability of a plural signification, implying many; and *-ydd* being the plural of many British words, as *Nentydd*, *Corfydd*, *Coedydd*; it seems therefore that the British singular of that name was *Druw* or *Dryw*, the unvaried, appellative of one person of them; as *Tre'r Dryw*, *Maen y Dryw*, *Stenton Drew* in Somersetshire, *Llyssieu'r Dryw*, and the little *Regulus* or wren, called *Dryw*, the constant inhabitant of groves and bushes, and probably emblematical of them, do seem to confirm and prove that the head-Druid—*propter excellentiam*—was called *Dryw*, and so his chief villa or mansion must be called *Tre'r Dryw*, as was before intimated.

Now *Druw* or *Dryw* being the word expressing one single *Drywid*, or rather the head one, *Ka' ēryw*, it is probable (the Gaulish and British tongue consisting of variety of idioms and dialects) that the plural of it was variously terminated in various places, as they had several modes of expressing and terminating one and the same word; and therefore *--ydd*, *--au*, *--on* being usual terminations of the British tongue in the plural number, they might in some places pronounce the word plurally *Druwydd*, in other places *Drudau*, in some *Drudion* or *Drudon*, and in others *Derwyddon*; by which diversity of construction of the same word, in diverse places, whereof we have many examples in many words to this day, it might very well come to pass, that the forementioned township called *Bod-drudau*, and the other place called *Cerrig y Drudion* in Denbighshire, do each of them really bear the name of these Druids, but in somewhat different terminations. And therefore we may not accept of that argument which some are willing to urge, namely, that the examples which Dr. Davies produced out of some manuscripts of their being called *Derwyddon*, must infer that they were called only so and no otherwise; and consequently, because he found them only called so in two or three late British manuscripts, though in his Botany he allows them to be called * *Drudon*, the other terminations of the word must be quite excluded, and the names so terminating, tho' approving themselves by good circumstances to be Druidical, must be discarded from the notion and left to seek for other etymologies.

Again, if *Druw* or *Dryw* was the true British or Gaulish sound or word expressing a single Druid, we are yet to seek from what most likely etymons that word was originally compounded. It is generally

* *Llyssieu'r Druden.*

said, that it was derived from *Derw*; and if so, probably the word might be *Derw-ryw*, corruptly *D'ryw*—*quasi Genus hominum Quernam Religionem vel sub Quercubus colentium*—i. e. “A society of men celebrating the Oak;” or perhaps I should not be much out, if I offered the etymology of it from *Dir-ryw*, i. e. *Genus hominum maximè necessarium*; “A society of men most useful and necessary.” These last being two British radicals very ancient, and as likely as any (notwithstanding the common sentiments which are not always infallible) to give composition to this venerable name. But whether from *Derw-ryw*, or *Dir-ryw*, or perhaps from some other etymons not yet thought on, this word is undoubtedly composed, I will not presume to say; neither is it very material of which it is; for they both bid fairly towards it. But this I will add and presume to offer towards the solution of this particular, that if ancient names and things, and the original reasons of them may be unravelled by certain remaining prints and footsteps of them in the scheme of language; we may then observe many words in our British tongue, and those very ancient too, and which are particularly referrible to Druidism, that have *Dir* for the first and principal part of their composition, and not so easy to be accounted for on any other foundation; as,

Dirnad.] i. e. *Dir-ynad*, To judge.

Dirmygu.] *Dir-mygu*, To stand out or contemn. To despise.

Dirprwyo.] *Dir-prwyo*, To substitute or supply one's place.

Dirper.] *Dir-per*, To merit or deserve.

Drogan.] *Dir-ogan* or *D'rogan*, To foretel and divine.

Dirdra.] *Dir-dra* or *Dir-draba*, The greatest oppression.

Dirchafu.] *Dir-uchafu* or *Dirchafu*, To mount aloft or ascend.

Dirgelu.] *Dir-gelu*, To conceal or keep secret.

Dirwestu.] *Dir-westu*, To fast, or be abstemious.

Dirwyo.] *Dir-wyo*, To punish or amerce.

Dirfawr.] *Dir-fawr*, Very great and excellent.

Which are all words very ancient, and all betokening some peculiar quality and propriety of things and actions properly relating to that sect, and being built on the same etymological foundation with the supposed *Dir-ryw*, may seem in some measure to pretend to and conciliate that and no other to be the true etymology of it; which yet considering the uncertainties of etymological niceties, can lay no such pretence to it, as to deserve a contending for.

Of the Bardi and Ovates, and of the townships of Tre'r Beirdd and Bod-owyr.

THE township called by the name of *Tre'r Beirdd*, i. e. *Habitaculum Bardorum*, the seat and habitation of the *Bards* (where there are three or four *Cromlechs* to be yet seen, but cast down and demolished many ages ago) I have taken in consort with the other townships to bear uncontestedly the name of that society or order of Bards, as they were then called: And to ascribe it to the later poets called sometimes by that name, who never lived together in any formed society, there appears no warrant of antiquity for it.

But a township called by the collective name of the whole society, as this is, imports no less than that a conventual seat or habitation of that society was once there, where that name was left. Now the later *Beirdd* or *Prydyddion*, though distinguished into certain classes or orders (shadowing perhaps something of their ancient institutions) as *Prif-feirdd*, *Post-feirdd* and *Arwydd-feirdd*, and the like; yet having the whole conduct and management of their skill and employments particularly governed and directed by the laws of the *Talaith* or province they belonged to, and never living together in one society, but dispersedly here and there, as they happened to be gifted with that talent, they cannot therefore be supposed to denominate this precinct. And then it may seem that the name of this place must be referred to some other more ancient sect and order, who did live together in a conventual collegiate body; and this place bearing their name, as associated together in one community, must be concluded to have had an undoubted relation to that order or society.

But of the township of *Bod-owyr*, wherein are also many remains of Druidical monuments, it is not, I confess, at this time so intelligibly to be accounted for, as the other three; the name of that order to which I have presumed to refer it being now quite lost and forgotten in our language. Yet we may well conceive, as before observed, that the forementioned authors, describing the tripartite order of these Druids, took the names of those orders from Gaulish or British sounds or words expressing those orders in that language. And thence it will seem that the Gaulish and British names of those orders were in substance the same with what the Greek and Roman authors in their Syntax expressed of them.

And:

And therefore it is not unreasonable to conclude, that as their *Bardi* and *Druidæ* undeniably expressed our *Beirdd* and *Drywydd*, so likewise their *Ovates*, mentioned by Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus, must by the same consequence express some name belonging at that time to one of their orders, sounding like *Ovydd* or *Offydd* (-ydd being sometime a singular masculine termination, as *Gwebydd*, *Difinydd*, *Philosophydd*) which signified their priests and physiologers, as those authors relate. But what will most rationally confirm this conjecture is the agreeableness of the composition of the word with the nature of the thing: *Off* or *Offer* most plainly denoting *res Sacras*—sacred and holy things; as *Offrymmu*, *Offeren*, *Offeiriad*, *Dûofryd*, i. e. *Du-offrodd*—*Deo sacra donatio*—do evidently testify. And *Eydd* or *Yddion* being equipollent with -*wyr*, they might be *Offeydd*, *Offyddion* or *Offwyr* in the plural termination; and consequently *Offwr* or *Offydd*, in propriety of speaking, is no more than *Persona Sacra* or *Sacerdos* with the Latins, which is the very same with what Strabo explains of one of their orders, which he calls *Ovætes*, priests and physiologers.

On this account, observing that *Offwyr*, the same with *Offeydd* in the British plural, not only in sound, but in signification also, exactly answers the word *Ovætes*, which that author expressly tells us was the name of one of their orders; and finding, even in those townships which so evidently bear the names and characters of the other two orders, one place or precinct called *Bodovyr* or *Bodoffwyr*, I could do no less than take it, in comportion with the rest, to have been an apartment of that order called *Ovætes*, i. e. priests and physiologers.

It may be here objected, that *Offrymmu*, *Offeren*, *Offeiriad*, &c. are words which the Romans left, not found here among us, derived from *Ob* and *Fero*, two Latin radicals; and that *Ovates* being a name which the Britons had before the Romans had any thing to do in these countries, that therefore the now British words *Offrymmu*, *Offeren*, *Offeiriad* can be of no use to prove *Off* and *Offer* to betoken *res Sacras*—sacred things; nor consequently to give *Ovates* and *Offwyr* an etymology on the foundation I have now intimated. To this I answer, that although similitude of sounds does not always prove that words of the same signification and sound, in different languages, are the products and derivatives of one another; yet all I urge in this case is that *Off* and *Offer* are most ancient British or Gaulish sounds, and do carry with them the notion of sacred things. Whether they be derived from *Offero*, or *Offero* from them, it matters not; since both of them surely (as

all words relating to religion) are most ancient sounds. And *Offrail* a sacrifice, and *Juraim* or *Iffrain* to offer in Irish, where the Latin *Offero* could have no great influence (the Romans having never conquered that country) is a confirmation of it. And it is well known that the ancient Gaulish or Celtic tongue was spoke in Liguria, Lombardy, and other parts of Italy, as is observed by P. Diaconus, Servius and others; and consequently might well communicate with the Ausonian and Etruscan tongues, out of which the *Latian* or Latin was mostly composed.

And on this account we may rather suppose that many Latin words which agree with the Gaulish or British, as *Terra*, *Tír*; *Aurum*, *Aur*; *Mare*, *Mór*; *Ignis*, *Engyl*; *Avon*, *Annis*; *Aer*, *Awyr*; *Vitrum*, *Gwydr*; *Fons*, *Ffynnon*; *Mori*, *Marw*; *Murus*, *Mur*; *Tribus*, *Tref*; and many more, were words borrowed from the ancient Celtæ, our ancestors. And hence it is not unlikely that the Latin *Offero* might likewise be derived from our *Off*, *Offer*, *Offrail*, *Offrymmu*; or at least, that those first people, though differing in language, might agree together in the sound of some very obvious and important words, as we see now that Temple, Altar, Catholic Faith, and other principal words of religion, have their sounds, without much variation, common in almost all the tongues of Europe. And we may add to this, that the Latin *Offero* resolving itself to *Ob* and *Fera*, will not much relieve the objection; because it is well known that the letter *b*, of which *Ob* is made, had in ancient times, in many words, a much softer pronunciation than it now generally obtains. And it is as well known that the grammatical reduction of the Latin tongue into exact rules of art and politure (which probably first started the composition of *Offera* from *Ob* and *Fero*) was not very ancient; no elder than about the middle time of the Roman consular empire, as Quintilian observes—lib. 1. c. 5.—who tells us, that before those times the Latin tongue was very barbarous and rude in its expression, having in it many words of other languages, but especially (saith he) *plurima Gallica*, very many Gaulic words. So that on the whole matter we have room enough to conclude, that the Latin *Offero*, and the Gaulish and British *Off* or *Offer* were both of them very ancient words, however derived; and might very probably give the name of *Offiwy* to that order of Druids, which Strabo mentions by the name of *Ovates*; and whence the present words, *Offrwm*, *Offrymmu*, *Offeiriad* might proceed; and consequently entitle this peculiar place or precinct by the name of *Bod-Offiwy* or *Bod-Owy*, as it is called to this day.

Now having traced the names and characters of this religious sect and order of men so far as they fall under the consideration of my present subject, I will here stop a while and take a view of their whole hierarchy and discipline, from the hints and minutes we have delivered to us by Cæsar and others of their management and conduct. We cannot suppose, as is hinted in the last words of the second Objection, tho' the civil policy in Britain was cantoned and parcelled into many petty states and governments, that the Druidical hierarchy was in like manner dwindled into little distributions and independent consistories; that is, that every state and people had their peculiar set of Druids within their own separate territories to manage the affairs of equity and religion. For it will appear on a due consideration of the matter supposed, that such a distribution totally overthrows the very nature of their discipline already described, and contradicts the very scheme which Cæsar, who best knew them, gives of their institution and management in Gallia; where the civil rule and government was as much divided into different interests and principalities, as it was in Britain. And yet he positively affirms, that that discipline (he means their rule and administration) was in its highest exactness and accuracy learned in Britain; and consequently, as I said before, proves it to be here then in its greatest uniformity and perfection. *Et nunc qui diligentius eam rem* (meaning their discipline) *cognoscere volunt, plerumque illuc* (meaning Britain) *discendi causâ profisciscuntur.* So that their discipline in Gallia, which Cæsar proves was learned in Britain, being rigidly *architectonical* under one sovereign Head or Chief, and their inferior orders from all parts solemnly convening in one place, as a separate and distinct body of men, before this Head, whose authority extended over all their little states and regalities in Gallia; we have then very good reason, as I before shewed, to conclude the same of them in Britain: For that in Gallia was but what was learned *here*. And their hierarchy and scheme of government being of that dependent subordinate kind, as all describe it, we have no grounds left to imagine that it was divided in Britain into as many consistories or particular religions as there were separate states and governments in it. And if that * place of Tacitus, where Caractacus's men—*Gentili Religione sese obstringebant*—i. e. swore and bound themselves by vows after the religion of their countries, be urged for a diversity of religion in several countries; I answer, it can

* *Annal. lib. 12. cap. 8.*

prove no more than that they might have, in the different provinces of Britain, different usages and rites of objuration and solemn vowing. It being usual, as Cæsar tells us, *Qui præliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolabant, aut se immolatueros vovent*, viz. to make those solemn vows to keep them warm and steady in wars and dangers.

Nay further, that this ancient order of men was a distinct society by themselves, scarce at any time mingling with the rest of the people, but when called to their tribunals and altars, is somewhat plain out of Cæsar; for in time of war and public distractions they were all gone—*Druides à bello abesse consueverunt*—says he; and where could they so readily withdraw themselves as to their own *Palladium* or place of habitation? Hence probably it was that the Romans saw them not, until they beat up their quarters in this Isle of Mona; and then indeed a very frantic army of them (so Tacitus describes them) appeared and presented themselves before them.

And when these men of religion sojourned and lay abroad dispersed among the laity, performing their peculiar offices and functions, they were not, in any province they came into, either concerned in any warlike affairs, or subject to any government save their own. *Neque tributa cum reliquis pendunt, militiæ Vacationem, omniumque rerum habent immunitatem*, says Cæsar of them: By which it appears, First, That their administration of religion and equity among the people, was only in time of repose and public tranquillity; which may be one reason why Roman authors make so slender mention of them, or of their appearance in any public action. And, Secondly, Though they did actually reside in times of peace and safety on their several districts throughout the nation where they were employed; yet they being, as we find, no subjects of the several petty governments wherein they sojourned and acted, but being free and at liberty in all things—*omnium rerum habentes immunitatem*—they might retreat and withdraw to their common sanctuary or place of refuge and safety when they would. And the great power and respect they had with the people in all countries, may be conceived to have been a sufficient safe conduct to them either in coming from all places of the land to this their head-quarters or habitation; or in repairing, when summoned, to their great and solemn conventions and assemblies, which they frequently did: And which also serves to shew, that the many and different states and governments in the nation were no impediment to their resort to that one place; and consequently can be no just exception against

their having had somewhere one principal seat and habitation to resort unto, when called and summoned to make their appearance in it.

OBJECTION III.

The third Objection is, that these Druids cannot justly be entitled to so eminent and extraordinary knowledge and learning as is usually attributed to them, since the British nation in general, before the Romans invaded us, laboured under very great barbarism and ignorance; which cannot well be presumed they would have done, if they had such men of skill and knowledge, as these Druids are commonly reputed to have been, for their guides and instructors.

The main of this objection is to abate of the *moral* and *intellectual* qualifications, which are usually, and by some of the best lights of antiquity, attributed to this Druidical sect. But any one taking a view of the grounds on which the objection is founded will easily perceive, that it is built on a very fallacious scheme of reasoning; there being no necessary connexion between the compared and adjusted parts of it. For it is not to be supposed, by Proposition IX. that a polite and well qualified magistracy makes always a knowing and civil populace and vulgar. It may be very often the interest of superiors to depress and darken the intellectuals, to corrupt and deprave the morals of the common people, in order to dispose and model their minds, and to mould and figure their passions, to what form and posture they please; which probably was in some measure the case of the vulgar Britons under the conduct and management of these cunning Druids. And therefore it is not unlikely to be true, that these Druids might well be such men as I have represented them, although the British vulgar were immersed, which is yet far from being proved, in the grossest barbarism and ignorance.

For some mitigation of this charge it is yet farther to be considered; that as to morals, the decorum and plausibleness of the address and conduct of people have by manifest experience been found, in all times and places, to vary and to depend in a great measure upon humour and fancy. And what was esteemed barbarism in one age or place, may have been reckoned civility and decency in another. For in moral actions we are to reckon much on ends and causes peculiar to certain times and places. And then indeed we have something to apologize for many actions, wherein our ancestors, the Britons, by our present estimate of things as now considered, seem to have been

very rude and barbarous, which probably were not so accounted in those days.

The instances that are produced of the Britons' barbarity and ignorance are of several sorts; no one of which is yet liable to take away the reputation and merit, as to skill and knowledge, of their guides and instructors; nor indeed of their own, further than what unavoidable necessity and the then circumstances of affairs put them on the practice of.

Many of the inland people, saith Cæsar, speaking of the Britons, sow no corn, but live on milk and flesh. I answer, perhaps the great woods in some countries, and rocks and mountains in others, forced them to it. And we may well think so, because we are assured by Cæsar, Tacitus, and Pliny, that they had in many places of the land good store of corn, bread and ale.

There are some things falsely charged on them—as that they knew not the use of cloaths, as Herodian affirms; and that they lived only on prey and hunting, and dwelt in tents, naked and without shoes, as Dio reports of them. All which cannot be understood of them but with restriction to some particular places and circumstances. For Cæsar positively affirms of them, that they wore skins of beasts; which probably explains what Tacitus meant by *veste ferali*, in the Expedition of Anglesey. Nay, Diodorus Siculus takes upon him to describe certain garments of theirs called *Brachæ*, *Brych-wisc* perhaps; such as the party-coloured trowses which the Scotch Highlanders are known to wear to this day, or the *Braccan* of the Irish. Strabo and Martial mention other British habits; but Pliny seems to put the matter out of doubt, saying, that the Britons at some sacrifices used to go naked; which plainly intimates, that at other times they went not so.

And if their great woods at that time made the air warmer; and if the frequent wars and depredations, hindering the breeding of sheep and cultivating of hemp and flax, necessitated the people to put on lighter cloathing; it was no effect of choice, and therefore no token of voluntary barbarism in them, such as might have been amended by more skilful instructors, but rather the fate and misery of the times which put them on such gross unseemly customs. It is not indeed unlikely but that men in the first ages of the world went very thinly clad, if not many of them naked; and that the custom of wearing cloaths grew, as people grew more polite and civil; others continuing to this day to retain their ancient simplicity and nakedness, and that too in some places

places under as cold climates as our own is. Which is an argument, that if people in the first ages of the world had gone warmly cloathed as they now do, whole nations would scarce be induced to throw off that custom of wearing cloaths and go all naked. And therefore it is probable the ruder nations generally went half naked, till they came to be more civilized and enured to a more decent course of life.

But here with us, if in some places men went naked, as the author mentioned says they did; it is not unlikely but that the paint and varnish which they are said to have used on their bodies—*vitro corpora infecti*, as Pomponius Mela has it—might and did so constringe their pores, and so glaze and harden their external cutis, that the injuries of air and weather did not much affect them. And as for the scarifying of their bodies into the exact resemblances of birds and beasts, which something favours that opinion, as Solinus represents them; all that may be no more than a warlike flourish, or a sort of heroic bravery in them; for to expose their effigiated breasts and arms in that naked manner, when fighting with their enemies, favours more of art and accuracy, than of any barbarousness and stupidity in those resolute warlike people.

But for the unclean and unnatural cohabitation, and the mixing together of parents with their children, and of nearest relations one with another, as Cæsar, who surely should have a true account of them, tells us they frequently did: It looks indeed like a heavy charge, and may pass for the grossest instance of barbarity they could be taxed with, if they were guilty of it. But it is probable it was a character given them by their enemies, who from the smallness of their houses (being little huts without partitions or apartments, as Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and the very remains of them to this day, testify) concluded perhaps, as we often do of the Wild Irish, that they lay together there without distinction of age, sex, or kindred; which probably was but a mistake and the like misrepresentation of them. For the old British houses were little round cabins—*Cronglwyd*—of small capacity, as the * ruins of them still shew; yet they were generally in clusters, three or four of them together, which it seems served them for rooms and separate lodgments. And sometimes many were included together, within the compass of one square or court; which, I suppose, were their more fashionable houses.

* Now called *Cyllie'r Gwyddelod*.

If this be not the reason of that account given of them, it is, I confess, too difficult to excuse those profest moralists under whose cognizance and superintendance they were ; unless we may give ourselves room to think that natural conscience, and what we now call humanity, was defective in their guides and instructors in that one particular ; or at least that their religion, too much intoxicated by the spirit of delusion and warped by politic ends, relaxed and indulged to them that beastiality. However it was, it is no proof of the general ignorance and barbarity of their guides and teachers, if they apprehended nature too favourably in that one thing ; and therefore might politicly overlook that turpitude, and take it no crime to allow or lay no restraints on the unbridled lusts and appetites of the impure and heady vulgar, provided they paid them due submission and obedience, in what they commanded to be done and observed by them in other particulars. But as it is not likely the fact was true ; so there is little need to use any endeavours to obviate the inferences that may be drawn from it.

There needs no more to be added ; it is sufficient to evince that these Druids might be men of general morality and knowledge after the mode of that time, though the vulgar crew were deeply tainted with gross stupidity and ignorance ; which is yet far from being proved by the instances produced, especially of their laity in general ; who by what appears of their actions and behaviour to the Romans, and also by what we have of their sayings, address and conduct, registered in authors of account and credit, seem to have been men of good sentiments, moderation and temper ; and not meanly acquainted with the principles of humanity and nature ; all which we must suppose they imbibed from their Druidical education.

If any scruple this, let those admirable speeches of Galgacus and Caractacus, and those pathetic debates and dying resolutions of our famous * Boadicea, recorded by Tacitus, be undeniable specimens and lasting marks

* When Tacitus had given an account of the conquest of the Isle of Mona, by Suetonius Paulinus, he says, that that general was suddenly recalled from finishing his enterprize, to repel the violent attacks and hostilities of our famous Boadicea, who had raised a very numerous army in the Southern Province against the Roman garrisons, which she had almost totally destroyed : He thus relates the words of that illustrious heroine. Tacit. Annal. Lib. XIV.

“ Boadicea, says Tacitus, having placed her daughters in her chariot before her, as she came to address herself to every several nation in the army, declared, that she came there, not as a lady descended from so noble progenitors, to make a kingdom or riches the matter of the dispute, but as one of the common people, to avenge their loss of liberty in general, and in particular, the monstrous villanies perpetrated in her family, and the vile usages done to her own person, having had her body whipped and scourged by them, and her daughters’ chastities barbarously violated.

marks of sense, honour, and accomplished nobleness of thought and temper, eminently conspicuous in these British distressed souls; and arguments also of the like qualifications, in others of their more fashionable laity, whose characters the hastening pen of our historian had no time to transmit to posterity, as he had done, perhaps no less truly than elegantly of these noble and memorable personages.

It is worth while to repeat here that gallant speech of GALGACUS, the Caledonian; in which we see how the British genius was furnished with clear and sprightly notions of humanity, and well informed in the just rules of nature and interest. For the speaking and delivering that pathetic speech to the whole multitude, in that strain, and with that admirable turn of thought and expression, supposes *them* in general to whom he spake, to have been of a well taught and regulated capacity both to apprehend and to be moved by it; from which indeed we may take much truer and surer estimates of the knowledge and accomplishments of their guides and teachers, than from a few instanced immoralities and gross usages of the more inferior sordid vulgar.

THE SPEECH of GALGACUS*.

WHEN I consider the cause of this war, says Galgacus to his resolute army, and our present necessity, I have great reason to presume that this day, with this unanimous resolution of yours, will give a happy beginning to the freedom of the whole island. We have lived thus long in the full enjoyment of our liberty: and now there is no country beyond us, nor indeed sea, to secure us, while the Roman

“ violated. [*She added,*] The outrages of the Romans were grown so enormous, that the bodies
 “ of none among the poor Britons, of what quality soever, were exempted from the scourge and
 “ the whip, and their lust so impetuous and extravagant, that neither the aged nor the young
 “ could escape their pollutions; yet as some comfort to us [*says this magnanimous lady*] the gods
 “ seem to be for us, and to favour our just revenge; for the legion that durst come and hazard
 “ a battle, was cut in pieces by us, and the rest, what do they do, but skulk in their camp, or
 “ seek means to escape us by flight; so that they will never be able to abide the great clamour on
 “ the first onset of our men, and the rattling of our troops and chariots, much less the power and
 “ force of our fighting, when we come to close with them: If therefore [*said she*] they would
 “ weigh with her the number and power of her forces, and withal the motives of the war on her
 “ side, resolve they should, either to vanquish or to die, in that battle: For the men [*said she*]
 “ then, if the day be lost, may live, if they like it, and can escape, and support that life, with
 “ the bitter fruits of thralldom and slavery; for her own part, her firm resolution was, to die that
 “ day, or be victorious.”

The day was lost, and she ended her life by poison, and with her fell eighty thousand Britons in that battle.

* Tacit. in Vita Iulii Agricola.



Boadicea Queen of the Iceni.

navy can thus hover on our coasts ; so that arms and fighting, as honour will recommend to men of valour, so will self-preservation to the worst and most cowardly of us.

The battles heretofore which with various success have been fought against the Romans, have always relied on our bravery, and expected a turn from it : For * we are the very flower of the Britons, and therefore seated in them oft inward part of the country, out of the sight of other nations enslaved by the enemy : So that our eyes are yet unpolluted and free from the contagion of foreign tyranny. There is no country farther on this side of it, nor liberty on that : This corner which hath preserved us, hath hitherto been unknown to fame ; now the remotest part of Britain lies open to them, and people think every thing great and magnificent that is strange and unknown. Beyond us there is no country, nothing but waves and rocks : The land inward is all under the Roman vassalage already : It is in vain to curry favour with them by address or submission : Their pride and haughtiness is not to be thus laid, who ransack the universe, and when they have plundered all lands, and want more, they set sail and rummage the ocean, to find more.

Where the enemy is rich, there the prize is wealth ; where poor, it is ambition : Neither the East nor the West have sufficed them : These and only these covet and gape after the wealth and poverty of the whole world, with equal appetite and pleasure. Spoil, murder and pillage pass with them under the name of government ; and where they make solitude, there they think they have made peace. Children and relations are dear to every one, yet they press them : They bereave us of them, to make them slaves in foreign countries. Our wives and sisters, if they escape ravishing in a violent hostile manner, yet under the name of guests and friendship they are certainly debauched by them. Our goods and fortunes become theirs by the name of tribute, and our corn, by that of provision. Our bodies and hands are put by them to the drudgeries of paving bogs and woods, with a thousand stripes and indignities to boot.

Those who are naturally born slaves, are but once sold, and then maintained at the owners costs. But the isle of Britain daily purchases, daily feeds and maintains its own bondage, at its own charge : And as in a private family, the last comer is always the most scouted at by his fellow-servants ; so in this old bondage of the world, we who shall

* By this it appears that Scotland was then inhabited by Britons.

be the vilest slaves in the universe, are now to be destroyed if they can do it: For we have no fields to cultivate, neither mines nor havens, to be employed in: And therefore to what purpose should they let us live; besides, the courage and resolution of the conquered is never grateful to the conqueror: And this distance and privacy itself, as it makes us safe, so it will make us the more suspected.

Thus seeing we have nothing to rely upon, let us put on resolution, as well those who tender their own safety, as they who value honour and glory. The Trinobantes, under the conduct of a woman, extirpated one of the colonies, and forced their castles: Nay, if success had not slackened their diligence, they might have entirely rid themselves of the Roman yoke. We are as yet whole and untouched: We were born free; let us shew them in the first onset the bravery of the men they will meet on this side Caledonia. Do you imagine the courage of the Romans in war, to be every jot as great as their debauchery in peace? Their glory is all owing to our dissensions; the faults of their enemies have been made use of to raise the reputation of their army. As nothing but success could have held that medley-army of theirs, picked out of so many nations, together; so they would soon dissolve upon a miscarriage, unless we can suppose that the Gauls and Germans, nay, to our shame be it spoken, many of our own countrymen will lend them their lives to establish a foreign power, who have yet been longer enemies than slaves to them, and go on with a true zeal and affection to this quarrel. No, this is nothing but the effect of fear and terror, which are no great motives of endearments; these removed, their hatred will break out, as their fear goes causeless.

We have all the motives that excite victory on our side; the Romans have no wives to encourage them to stand to it; no parents to upbraid them, if they run away: They have either no country at all, many of them, or at least not here, to animate them: Their number is so small, that they stand in fear, gazing at the haven, the sea, the woods, and every thing that is strange about them, that they seem pent here and delivered to our hands by Providence.

Let us not be daunted by the shew they make, by the glare and shining of their gold and silver, which will neither defend them, nor hurt us. We shall find those of our side in the very body of the enemy. The Britons know very well it is their own game and interest: The Gauls are still mindful of their lost liberty; and the Germans will desert them, as the Usipians but lately did.

Beside

Beside this, there is nothing can put a stop to us : The castles are emptied : The colonies consist but of old men ; and the cities are in discontent and factions, while they unwillingly obey those that unjustly govern them : Ye see the Roman general and army here before you : There are the tributes, mines, and all the plagues and punishments that attend slavery : It is to be tried by this day's engagement, whether or no we are to endure them from this moment for ever, or be immediately revenged on them : And therefore since we are now to dispute this with them, let us think both on our ancestors and our posterity.

This is the speech of the valiant Galgacus—*Gwallawc ap Llunawc* in the British tongue—to his Caledonian army. And though the elegances and rhetorical flourishes of it may in a great measure be owing to the eloquent pen of the relator ; yet the matter and substance (being peradventure taken up by some one who understood both languages, related to Agricola, and so * to the historian) might be the very same that was spoken by that noble Briton. But whatever some may think of this speech, that other incomparable one of *CARACTACUS—Cariadoc* with us—before Claudius and the whole senate of Rome, can have no suspicion of being by the historian put upon him. For what that noble captive spoke and delivered then before that august assembly was so much taken notice of and admired, and made that impression on the people of Rome, that it is not to be supposed that any historian, within so short a time as Tacitus wrote his history after it, could conveniently feign it.

* Some imagine, and indeed not unreasonably, that Tacitus was himself about this time, with his father-in-law, J. Agricola, in Britain ; being induced to think so, by the very minute and lively description he gives of many things, and the circumstances of them, therein acted ; particularly from a passage in his book of the Life of Agricola, cap. 24. where mentioning an Irish prince, who had fled to Agricola for succours against his rebellious subjects that had expelled him ; Tacitus thereupon immediately adds, *Sæpe ex eo audiui*, (i. e.) he many times told me (being no doubt assisted by an interpreter, if he meant that Irishman) how easy it was for the Romans, with a few forces, to master all Ireland. See *Philos. Transf. Numb. 356. p. 783.*

However, it is pretty plain that Agricola (if from him the historian often heard it) took care to furnish Tacitus with an exact account of many particulars in that British expedition, and not unlikely gave him the true purport of this speech of Galgacus, for often relating infers so much.

The SPEECH of CARACTACUS.

*When CARACTACUS, with a great train of his countrymen and family, was brought in chains before the emperor, he spake, says Tacitus *, to this purpose, as he stood before Caesar's tribunal:*

IF the moderation of my mind in prosperity had been answerable to my quality and fortune, I might have come a friend rather than a captive into this city; and you without dishonour might have entered into league with me, royally descended, and then at the head of many nations. As my state at present is disgraceful; so yours is honourable and glorious. I had horses, men, arms and riches; why then is it strange I should be loath to part with them? But since your power and empire must be universal, we of course among all others must be subject. If I had immediately yielded, neither my fortune nor your glory had been so eminent in the world. My grave would have buried the memory of it, as well as me: Whereas if you suffer me to live now, your clemency will live in me for ever as an example to after ages.

Now, what so brief, and altogether so full and transcendently surprising, as the words of this brave heroic person, probably spoken in his own British tongue, and interpreted to the noble audience? His address and comportment, his strong sense and courage, what are they but so many advocates for our country's reputation, so many witnesses that such an accomplished and magnanimous soul was not bred up in barbarism and ignorance? And that it must be confessed, that the school and discipline which formed those minds, and instilled into them these bright and noble sentiments, must be furnished with a considerable share of virtue and knowledge, which here could be no other than that of the Druids.

Having produced these noble effects of Druidical education in the address and behaviour of the persons they had brought up; I shall here subjoin a small specimen of their ethics, or the form the *Bards* made use of in composing and reciting to their pupils the documents of humanity; which they were obliged to learn by heart; every third verse concluding with a moral maxim, after this manner.

* Annal. Lib. xii.

† By the three first, they seem to invoke their groves, and to set out the great privileges of the priests of those groves or professed Druids, in being made free by their profession from all restraints and exactions, as Cæsar records of them, De Bell. Gal. lib. 6.

† *Marchwial Bedw briglas,
A dyn fy nbroed o Wanai :
Nac addef dy * rin i Was.*

*Marchwial Derw mwynllwyn,
A dyn fy nbroed o Gadwyn :
Nac addef dy rin i Forwyn.*

*Marchwial Derw deiliar,
A dyn fy nbroed o Garchar :
Nac addef dy rin i ‡ Lavar.*

† By the other three, they seem to invoke the mountain *Eyryri*, as the Greeks did Parnassus, and the Cretans mount Ida; for Gildas expressly tells us that they worshipped mountains and rivers; and then concluded every triambick with a moral doctrine; and out of such verses as these, I doubt not, all our British adages were collected.

† *Eyry mynydd, Hydd efcud,
Odid amdidawr o'r byd.
Rbybydd i drwch ni weryd.*

*Eyry mynydd, pysc yn rbyd,
Cyrchyt Carw culgrwm cwm clud :
Hiraeth am Farw ni weryd.*

*Eyry mynydd, gwynt ae tawol,
Llydan lloergan, glas tafadol :
Odid dyn diried dibawol.*

An old Cornish Englyn of the same sort, found by Mr. Lbwyd ||.

*An lasar kôth yw lasar gwîr,
Bedd dorn rê fer, dbon tafaz rê bîr ;
Mez dén beb dafaz a gollaz i dîr.*

That these were some of those very verses by which the Druids used to instruct their scholars, though from the purport of them one may have grounds to believe they were, I will not affirm. Yet we are sure they are very ancient, as being collected by *Lhowarch Hên*, a prince of Cumberland, who lived Anno 590, and amongst his *Epicedia* or *Englynion* preserved to this day. That these I recited (though among his works) were not his own, is evident by the language of them, being purely Venedotian or the North-Wales British; whereas his rhimes

* *Cyfrinach*, or a secret. † *Dyn Siaredus*, or a talkative man. || *Archæol Brit.* p. 251,

are in the Cumbrian or Pictish. * dialect, by us now scarcely to be understood. And none can doubt but at that time many relics of the Druidical learning, especially the moral part of it, were preserved either in books or memory. For though the Druids writ nothing, it is probable the ancient Christians who succeeded them did, and were careful of preserving what was good and laudable. After this manner we suppose they handled other sciences, which working wholly on the memory, whereby they got the maxims, rules and canons of them by heart, reason on any emergence was soon enlightened by them, and rendered the men great proficient in what they undertook, as authors relate of them. As to what I say here of these Druidical verses, or at least very ancient ones in imitation of them, my late learned friend, † Mr. *Edward Lbwyd* of Oxford, was firmly of the same opinion with me therein; and has delivered it to the publick in the end of his *Cornish Grammar*, where the reader may find more of this particular.

This therefore being so far confirmed by evidence arising from the nature of the thing, and seconded by some special circumstances of fact, I shall not need here to repeat the several kinds and species of knowledge the British and Gaulish Druids excelled in, and the many authorities produced for them, which you have in the former Essay. But I shall rather conclude the reply to the last objection, with a short hint of the state and progress of knowledge in the first ages of the world; and resolve the whole into a demonstration of the feasibility and facility of conveying down a great deal of that original ante-diluvian knowledge to this Druidical sect or order of men in these western parts of Europe; which shall be my last Proposition.

* The Cumbrian and Stradclwyd Britons, by vicinity of place, having much communication with the Pictish nation, which for a long time had ruled in the East parts of Scotland, might and probably did borrow and incorporate a great many words of the Pictish tongue with their own; of which words not a few might be interspersed in the said *Epicedia*; for Irish they are not. And tho' I am well aware that authors of good note have affirmed, that that nation and that language have been quite abolished and lost; yet, I think, it cannot with any good reason be made to appear, that a language once flourishing in a kingdom, as this did, without utter extirpation of the people that used it, can totally cease and perish, which I take to be naturally impossible; languages in one and the same country, not ending, but degenerating and dwindling into alterations and variety of dialects and ways of speaking. Neither is it unlikely that these noted lines found by Mr. *Lbwyd* on the margins of the Cambridge *Juvenius*, by him mentioned, might be of the same stamp, viz. another specimen of the Picto-Cumbrian Dialect. See *Archæol Brit.* p. 221.

† The Reader is to understand, that a great part of this book was composed before the death of the said Mr. *Lbwyd*, but this after; which will reconcile what I say of him when living, and what when dead; and Dr. Gordon comes also under this remark, who was alive when I mentioned him.

PROPOSITION XI.

It is generally allowed that before the flood, what by original infusion into Adam, stronger temperament of body, more serene and vigorous faculties of soul, the unspeakable advantages of many hundreds of years personal experience, &c. knowledge in all the parts and circumstances of it must have arrived to a most eminent degree of politure and perfection. And knowledge once set up and digested into positions and theorems is easily communicable to any age or people that come after.

FIRST, This is amply attested and improved into the force of a proposition, by many excellent authors, both ancient and modern; that is, that Adam was created with a very great perfection of knowledge, and a profound insight and penetration into the nature of things: Not only, I say, the most learned of the Jews give great and ample testimonies, viz. *Plasmavit Deus Adam* (says the Paraphrast upon the Samaritan Pentateuch) *replevitque eum cum spiritu Sapientiae & Scientiæ, ut inde ad posterum omnes Artes ac Scientiæ tamquam ex primo fonte promanarent*—and in this strain they generally comment on Adam's creation; but also the text of Moses seems to prove it, Gen. ii. 20. where Adam is brought to give names to things: Which names so given, being adapted to the peculiar properties and natures of the things named, it follows that he must have a previous insight and knowledge of the properties and affections of things to give them such agreeable appellations and characters.

SECONDLY, There were many particulars of the sublimest *arcana* of nature discovered in those early ages of the world; which prove, either that Adam was supernaturally instructed in the secret knowledge of nature, and that the ideas he so received were preserved by him and communicated; or that such instrumental helps for the advancing the reach of human perception, as nature could be capable of supplying, were not then wanting. For how, without either of these means, viz. a transcendent natural or artificial perfection of human faculties, could the Pythagorean system of the world, and therein the motion of the earth be so anciently established? Without this supposition, it is, I think, impossible to account for the ancients' discovering the medicinal operations and properties of animals, vegetables and minerals—to give a reason for the establishing (if there be any truth and certainty in it) of what we call judicial astrology, which is known also to have been

very ancient ; and several other useful arts and sciences, that seem to owe their origin to either of these two mentioned principles ; viz. either to Adam's sup̄natural knowledge communicated, or to ante-diluvians' more advanced and elevated, or instrumentally assisted faculties and perceptions. To the former of which, viz. Adam's knowledge communicated, the most diligent enquirer into the origin of arts and sciences, viz. Athanasius Kircher, in his *Ægyptian Oedipus*, resolves the point. *Plerorumque doctorum sententia est, primum humani generis parentem Adamum, in summā perfectione à Deo conditum, eā rerum, quā divinarum, quā humanarum notitiā excelluisse, ut sicuti nullus ex humano genere cujus princeps erat, & à puris hominibus à Deo majori perfectione conditus, ita nullum quoque majoribus animi corporisque donis imbutum fuisse credendum est. Et ut infusā sibi rerum omnium scientiā divinitus instructus fuisse legitur ; ita insignem quoque medicarum facultatum lapidibus, plantis, animalibus, insitarum notitiā habuisse certissimum est ; sapienti igitur Dei consilio factum est, ut Adamus scientiam rerum naturalium sibi communicatam, posteris suis traderet.*

To Kircher our countryman Bale, in the tenth century of our British writers, fully assents ; and delivers it as the sentiment of the generality of authors on that point. *Ex Adamo (saith he) tanquam ex fonte omnes artes bonæ & omnis scientia humana profluxit. Hic primus cælestium corporum motus, plantarum, animantium, & omnium creaturarum naturas, rationem ecclesiasticā, politicā & oeconomicā gubernationis primam publicavit ; ex cujus scholā quicquid est humanarum artium & sapientiæ, in totum genus humanum, per patres est postea propagatum ; siquidem quid Astronomiæ, Geometriæ, & aliæ artes in se continent, totum scivit. I could recite more instances corroborating this particular ; but this may suffice, since it is a thing generally allowed and consented to.*

But however this ancient profound and most exquisite knowledge of the nature of things was first discovered ; we may be sure it quickly improved itself by the fore-mentioned advantages of the long lives, strong intellects, and vigorous constitutions of the ante-diluvian patriarchs, into various schemes and systems of sciences ; divine and human, natural and moral, and into innumerable mechanic arts and inventions, serving the necessity, profit and pleasure of human life ; and that also in the way and manner of communicating this knowledge, the choicest secrets and *arcana* of it, both divine and natural, were carefully locked up from vulgar sight in a religious *Cabala*, and by it orally communicated from one person to another. As for example ; from Adam to
Seth,

Seth, from Seth to Enoch, from Enoch to Methuselah, from Methuselah to Noah, and so to the post-diluvian world; whereof we have the universal consent of ancients and moderns avouching it to us. So that if Adam had ever a true knowledge and comprehension of the occult nature, composition, frame, texture and systems of things; of their principles and operations, of their motions and habitudes, and other specifical affections, upon which all arts and sciences were grounded—all which, either by infusion or external communication he might well have—it is thence easily demonstrable, that at length a great part of that knowledge might come to, and be possessed by some of the *Coryphæi* of our western *Celtæ*; and might some time after, come also by their means to kindle and diffuse itself into the oral theorems and placits of the fore-mentioned British Druids.

For to make this more easily conceivable, let us suppose (which is in itself very supposable) that but one man, having taken into his breast a sound draught of Cabalistical knowledge, and having credit enough to back his affirmations, is sufficiently able to set up a general learning in any nation, where the genius and temper of people are not very morose and stupid; and let us withal remember, that though we date and fix the original of Druidism about the time of Abraham, tho' in all likelihood it existed sooner; yet we are sure that Shem was then alive, who might see, converse with, and have his knowledge from Methuselah, who also might see, converse with, and have his knowledge from Adam; in whom, as we have now supposed, the knowledge of God and nature, in all the branches of it, eminently flourished.

And it is very plain and undeniable by the Mosaic accounts, that Adam lived to the time of Methuselah, and Methuselah to the time of Shem, who lived five hundred years after the Universal Deluge; within the limits of which time, we have grounds to conclude that the isle of Britain was considerably peopled, and the Druidical principles formed and established in it. So that we may cease to wonder at the finding so many rich veins of ancient knowledge laid open and discovered so early in the Celtic nation; which yet by this manner of demonstrating, appears to have been, in the ordinary way of information, but three or four removes at farthest from Adam's great universal knowledge: And therefore where Greek and Roman authors ascribe to these Druids, or our ancient western philosophers, eminent skill in astronomy, physiology, medicine, magic, morality, and other parts of choicer learning, together with some other umbrages of revealed know-

ledge, as the præ-existence and immortality of human souls, eternal beatitudes, the propitiation of sacrifices, and other documents transcending the reach of *meer* human sagacity; we may this way wind them up to their first bottom, and give the world a satisfaction in that particular, which no arguments taken from remoteness of place, vulgar ignorance, want of letters, and the like pretences can at all shock, or be of force to impair the grounds and evidence of it.

To conclude; this is what led me to, and what I offer in defence of, my conjectures in this matter. I would obtrude and impose nothing. Others may think as they will; and where they guess righter, they have my ready assent. Only in what I have done, my wish is, that arguments, without prejudice to persons or parties, may be fairly weighed and considered: And if truth, or any obscure features of it, appear in any of those I have here laid down, that they may be looked upon and treated as they deserve, though the hand be ever so rude and unskilful that brings them into view, and submits them to the judgment of the candid and impartial.

A N

A P P E N D I X ;

CONTAINING A

COMPARATIVE TABLE

O F

L A N G U A G E S :

W I T H

S O M E L E T T E R S A D D E D .

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A T A B L E

RELATING TO THE

Sixth Section of the First Essay.

S H E W I N G,

The Affinity and near Resemblance, both in Sound and Signification, of many Words of the Antient Languages of Europe with the Original Hebrew Tongue; which, it is presumed, they retained as Relics of it, after the Confusion at Babel; with some Remarks upon it.

FOR the better understanding of the parallels of this following Table, it is to be observed, that letters of one and the same organ are of common use in the pronunciation of words of different languages—as for example, *M, B, V, F, P*, are labials: *T, D, S*, are dentals: *G, Ch, H, K, C*, are gutturals—and therefore if the Hebrew word or sound begins with, or is made of, any one of the labials, any of the rest of the same organ will answer it in the derivative languages. The same is to be observed in using the dental and the guttural letters. For in tracing out the origin of words, we are more to regard the sound of them than their literal form and composition; wherein we find words very often, by the humours and fancy of people, transposed and altered from their native sounds, and yet in their signification they very well fit their original patterns. I

shall only exemplify in the letters *M*, *B*, and *V*, which are of one organ, that is, are formed by one instrument, the lip; and therefore are promiscuously used the one for the other in pronouncing words of one language in another. The Hebrew *B* is generally pronounced as a *V* consonant. And the Irish also, most commonly in the middle of a word, pronounce *M* as a *V*; as we find the antient Britons to have made use of *V*, or rather *F*, which they pronounce as *V*, for *M* and *B* in many Latin words; as;

LATIN.	BRITISH.	LATIN.	BRITISH.
<i>Animad</i>	<i>Anisail</i>	<i>Numerus</i>	<i>Nifer</i>
<i>Turma</i>	<i>Tyrfa</i>	<i>Columna</i>	<i>Colofn</i>
<i>Terminus</i>	<i>Terfyn</i>	<i>Gemelli</i>	<i>Gefeill</i>
<i>Calamus</i>	<i>Caluf</i>	<i>Roma</i>	<i>Rbusain</i>
<i>Primus</i>	<i>Prif</i>	<i>Scribo</i>	<i>Scrifenu</i>
<i>Amnis</i>	<i>Afon</i>	<i>Liber</i>	<i>Lhyfr</i>
<i>Arma</i>	<i>Arfau</i>	<i>Remus</i>	<i>Rbwyf</i>
<i>Firmus</i>	<i>Ffyrf</i>	<i>Domo</i>	<i>Dof</i>
<i>Monumentum</i>	<i>Monfent</i>	<i>Rebello</i>	<i>Rbyfela</i>
<i>Firmamentum</i>	<i>Ffurfafen</i>	<i>Pluma</i>	<i>Pluf</i>
<i>Lamentor</i>	<i>Llefain</i>	<i>Catamanus</i>	<i>Cadfan</i>
<i>Elementum</i>	<i>Elfen</i>	<i>Dimetæ</i>	<i>Dyfed</i>
<i>Memorare</i>	<i>Myfyrio</i>	<i>Lima</i>	<i>Llif</i>
<i>Hyems</i>	<i>Gauaf</i>	<i>Lamina</i>	<i>Llafn, &c.</i>
<i>Glamare</i>	<i>Llafaru</i>		

We are not to wonder at this analogy of sounds in the primitive distinction of languages. For before the use of writing, which has established the correct form of words, people were only guided by the ear in taking the sound of words, and they pronounced and uttered them again as the organs of their voice were best fitted for it; and it happening that the aptitude and disposition of those organs, peculiar to some people and countries, were various (as we find to this day some nations cannot shape their voice to express all the sounds of another's tongue), it accordingly affected and inclined some parties of people to speak the same consonants harder or softer, to utter the same vowels broader or narrower, longer or shorter, as they found themselves best disposed to do. And thereupon custom prevailing

prevailing with particular sets of people to continue the use of such different pronunciation as they affected, the words so varied came at length to take on them different forms, and to be esteemed and taken as parts of different languages, though in their origin they were one and the same *.

* It is commonly observed, that different climates, airs and aliments, do very much diversify the tone of the parts and muscles of human bodies; on some of which the modulation of the voice much depends. The peculiar moisture of one country, the drought of another (other causes from food, &c. concurring) extend or contract, swell or attenuate, the organs of the voice, that the sound made thereby is rendered either shrill or hoarse, soft or hard, plain or lisping, in proportion to that contraction or extension. And hence it is, that the Chinese and Tartars have some sounds in their language, that Europeans can scarce imitate: And it is well known in Europe itself, that an Englishman is not able agreeably to converse with a stranger, even in one and the same Latin; nay, even in England, it is noted by Mr. Camden and Dr. Fuller, that the natives of *Carleton-Carlou* in Leicestershire, by a certain peculiarity of the place, have the turn of their voice very different from those of the neighbouring villages.

HEBREW.	DERIVATIVES.	ENGLISH.
A UACH	Awch	<i>Brit.</i> The edge or point of a sword, &c.
Even	Maen	— A stone
Agam or Leagam	Lagam	<i>Corn.</i> A pool or standing water, a lake
Ivah	Deis-yfu	<i>Br.</i> To desire
Auor	Awyr	— Lightened air
Ano	Yno	— Then, in that place, or at that time
Achei	Achau	— Brethren, or kindred
Aedenei	Gwadnau	— The soles of the feet
Calal	Cyllell	— To wound or pierce
Domen	Tomen	— Muck or dung.
Gehel	—	— Coal
Sâl	Sâl	<i>Br.</i> Vile or of no account
Kadal	Gadael	— To forsake or desist from
Aggan	Angeion	<i>Greek</i> A vessel or earthen pot
Alaph	'Alph	— To find
Bama	Bamds	— An altar
Hag	'Agios	— Holy
Hadar	{ Cadair	<i>Br.</i> Honour or reverence
Hia	{ Katha	<i>Irisb</i> She, or any thing feminine
Goph	Y hi	<i>Br.</i> A body
Deraich	Corph	— An arm
Dad	{ Braich	<i>Irisb</i> The dug, breast, or udder
Ager	{ Raich	<i>Br.</i> To heap together
Elah	Diden	<i>Lat.</i> They, <i>masc. & fem.</i>
Angil	Aggero	— The arm-pit
Dapsh	-illi, illæ	— Cheer or dainties
Hen	Axilla	— Lo! behold!
Phar	Daps	— To bear or carry
Harabon	En! ecce!	— A pawn or pledge
Phalat	Phér	<i>Greek</i> To keep or defend
Pathah	Arrhabon	— To persuade
Gab	Phulatr	— Bent or crooked
Dur	Peith	<i>Lat.</i> To remain and endure
Laish	Gibbus	— A lion
Deka	Duro	— To bite
Ephach	Lis	<i>Greek</i> A serpent
Dath	Dek	— A law
Densh	Ophis	<i>Br.</i> This, or that, or there it is
Hiffah	Deddf	— Be silent
Cala	Dyna	— To be sick
Clei	{ Ys taw	<i>Irisb</i> Jewels and ornaments
	{ D'istaw	
	Claf	
	Cleas	

HEBREW.	DERIVATIVES.		ENGLISH.
Devar	Deveirim	<i>Irish.</i>	To speak.
Ein	Ynys	<i>Br.</i>	Island.
Hama	{ Aman	<i>A Armor.</i>	Butter
	{ Ymenyn	<i>Br.</i>	
	{ Im	<i>Irish</i>	
Ivo	Nava	—	His enemy
Beala	Mealam	—	To be waited, or consumed
Vock	{ Vacuus	<i>Lat.</i>	Empty
	{ Gwac	<i>Br.</i>	
Aita	Ydyw	—	Is, or are
Bar	Bar	<i>Irish</i>	Son
Bareh	Bara	<i>Br.</i>	Meat, or victuals
Beram	Verum	<i>Lat.</i>	But, nevertheless
Beth	Bwth	<i>Br.</i>	A house, or cottage
Se	She	<i>Irish</i>	He or him
Gaha	Iachau	<i>Br.</i>	To heal, or cure
Gad	Cad	—	An army
Boten	Potten	—	The belly
Gever	Gwr	—	A man
Hada	*Ed.	<i>Greek</i>	To cherish and make much of
Boa	Ba	—	To come
Aniah	Ania	—	Sadness
Charath	Charatt	—	To inculp or engrave
Maas	Misc	—	I hate
Semain	Semain	—	I shew and demonstrate
Aaz	'Aix	—	A goat
Aleth	Alaeth	<i>Br.</i>	A curse, or misfortune
Elil	Ellylly	—	Idol, or hobgoblin
Allun	Llwyn	—	A grove of oaks
Amunath	Amynedd	—	Constancy, or patience
Ap	Wep	—	Face, or countenance
Itho	Iddo	—	With him
Atun	Odyn	—	A furnace, or a kiln
Atha	Aeth	—	Went, or came
Iiche	Yffu	—	To burn
Emaeth	Ymaith	—	From him
Barach	Parch	—	To esteem, or bless
Gobah	Coppa	—	The top or summit of a thing
Geven	Cefn	—	A ridge, or back
Gedad	Gwiwdod	—	Excellency
Gaiaph	Cau	—	To shut, or inclose
Evil	—	—	Evil
Beafch	—	—	Base
Babel	—	—	To babble
Baroth	—	—	Broth
Gaah	—	—	Gay
Dum	—	—	Dumb
		M m	Dusch

HEBREW.	DERIVATIVES.	ENGLISH.
Dufch	—	To dash, or tread under feet
Hebifch	—	To abash
Hua	—	He, <i>masc. gen.</i>
Haras	—	To harass, or destroy
Chittah	—	Wheat
Mefurah	—	A measure
Sahap	—	To sweep
Charath	—	To write
Saar	—	A shower
Aanna	—	To annoy
Phæer	—	Fair
Pheret	—	A part, or portion
Phærek	—	Fierce
Eretz	—	Earth
Sad	—	Side
Spor	—	A sparrow
Kinnch	—	A cane
Kera	—	To cry
Shekel	—	Skill
Rechus	—	Riches
Kre	—	A crow
Pafa	—	To pass
Halal	—	A hole
Catat	—	To cut
Ragez	—	To rage
Ragal	—	To rail, or detract
Maguur	Magwyr	Habitation, or a walled dwelling
Madhevi	Myddfai	Distempers and diseases
Doroth	Toreth	Generations, increase, or the fruits of the womb
Dal	Tal	Tall and high
Havah	Yfu	Was, or has been
Mahalac	Malc	A pathway, or a balk to tread on
Hilo	Heulo	Shining. <i>Apollo, Sol</i>
Tor	{ Toar { Terfyn	<i>Irisb</i> <i>Br.</i> A boundary, or limit
Siu	Syw	Resplendent
Achais	Achles	Defence, or protection
Machaneh	{ Machno and { Medhain	Places of defence of old in the county of Montgomery. <i>Penmachno</i>
Chorau	Crau	Holes, such as the needle-eye
Chorefh	Cors	A place full of small wood or reeds
Nodah	Nodi	To make known, or note
Jadha	{ Addef { Oida	<i>Greek</i> To know, or acknowledge
Hathorath	Athrawinesh	<i>Br.</i> Discipline

HEBREW.	DERIVATIVES.	ENGLISH.
Jch	Rich Br.	Yours, or your own
Jared	I wared	Descended
Cha	Chwi	You
Jain	Geta	Wine
Toledouth	Tylwyth	Generations, or families
Lus	Llyfu	To go away, or avoid
Caolath	Colled	A loss
Hounil	Ynill	Gain
Jester	Ystyr	Consideration
Jadadh	Gwahodd	To invite
Cafodoth	Cyfoeth	Honours, or wealth
Cis	Cist	A chest
Bar	{ Far Lat Bara Br.	Bread-corn
Shevah	—	Seven
Dakar	—	A dagger
Hinneke	—	To hang
Shelet	—	A shield
Hever	—	Over, or above
Shibbar	—	To shiver, or quake
Jiled	—	A * child
Chœbel	—	A cable
Parak	—	To break
Gannaf	—	A knave, or a thief
Coll	—	All
Hannah	—	To annoy, or hurt
Eth	{ Etos Greek Ætas Lat.	A year, or age
San	Cœna	A supper
Nabal	Nebulo	A churl
Mot	Motus	Motion
Bath	Batos Greek	A thorn
Eden	Edone	Pleasure
Kolah	Kleis	To praise
Sas	Ses	A moth
Phac	Phake	Lentil
Skopac	Scopæ	To speculate
Jounec	Jevange Br.	A suckling
Hamohad	Ammod	Covenant, or appointment
Parad	Pared	A partition, or separation
Keren	Corn	A horn
Kesef	Cesail	The arm-pit
Me-Ab	Mab	Son, or from a father
Luung	Llyngcu	To swallow, or devour
Temutha	Difetha	Destruction

* *Jild Take*, thou art my son, Psal. ii, 7.

HEBREW.	DERIVATIVES.	ENGLISH.
Ceremluach	Cromlech Br.	A sacrificing stone
Hamule	Aml	Plenty, or store
Mah?	Mae?	What? where? how?
Magal	Maglu	To betray
Makel	Magl	A staff
Meria	Mër	Fat, or marrow
Mout	Mudo	To remove
Meth	Methu	To die, or fail
Mar	Maer	A lord
Marad	Brad	* Rebellion
Nafe	Nef	Joyful
Taphilu	Taflu	To cast, or throw
Hanes	Hanes	To signify, or account
Nevath	Neuadd	Habitation, or hall
Jiffal	Ifel or Ifelu	To throw down
Naoaph	Nwyf	Incontinency, or lust
Nadu	Nadu	They moan and lament
Sethar	Sathru	To throw under feet
Heber	Aber	A ford, or passage
Nucchu	Nychu	Being smitten or afflicted
Nuu	Nhwy	They, or those
Naodhad	Nodded	To escape and take refuge
Gadah	Gadaw	To pass by
Niued	Niweid	To spoil
Goloth	Golwyth	Burnt-offerings
Mohal	Moel	Top of a hill
Galas	Glwys	Pleasant
Hafem	Asen	A rib, or bone
Garevath	Gwarth	Shame
Taphug	Diffyg	Want, or defect
Phoreth	Ffrwyth	Fruit or effect
Pach	Bach	A crooked stick
Pinnouth	Pennaeth	Chief, or uppermost
Phinnah	Ffynnu	To prosper
Path	Peth	A part or portion
Philegefh	Ffiloges	A concubine
Caton	Cwttyr	Short and little
Cir	Caer	A walled town
Reith	Rhith	Appearance
Tireneh	Trin	To feed and look after
Ragah	Rhwygo	To tear, or rend
Ralah	Râs and Rhâd	Grace, or good will
Semen	Saim	Fat, or oil
Saraph	Sarph	A serpent
Sac	Sâch	A † sack

* *Mereduth* is the same with *Marad*, a British name, ancient tongues.

† It has this sound in most of the

HEBREW.	DERIVATIVES.		ENGLISH.
Phuk	{ Ffûg	Br.	Disguise, and Deceit
Pharæk	{ Fucus	Lat.	Fierceneſs
Pinnah	Ferocia	—	Battlement
Pigger	Pinna	—	Lazy, and untoward
Naca	Piger fuit	—	To ſlay
Ad	Neco	—	Unto
Nut	Ad	—	To nod, or beckon unto
Darag	Nuto	—	To run to, or come at
Bala	Trech	Greek	Some time ago
Hannak	Palai	—	To ſtrangle
Naar	{ 'Agch	Br.	New or lately, nearotical
Agab	{ Tagu	Greek	To love, or to be much affected
Pacha	Nearos	—	A fountain
Parafh	'Agapa	—	To declare
Kol	Pege	—	To call
Maſhal	Phraſ	—	To reign
Shareka	Kalè, Gr. Galw, Br.	—	A ſyringe
Bekarim	Baſileu	Greek	Cattle
Ahel	Syrinx	—	A hall
Carpas	Pecora	Lat.	Fine linen or lawn
Æſh	Aula	—	Heat, or hot weather
Gibar	Carbaſus	—	To govern
Parah	Æſtus, Lat. Tès, Br.	—	To look green and flouriſhing
Ki	Guberno	Lat.	Wherefore, or becauſe
Olam	Vireo	—	Of old
Golem	Quia	—	A clew of thread
Amam	Olim	—	Mother
Coaphar	Glomus	—	Reward, or ſatisfaction
Cala	Ymam	—	A ſheep-fold
Sarch	Gwobr	—	Luſtful
Goliath	Caula	Lat.	A bed, or bed-chamber
Pathehen	Serch	Br.	A whore
Burgad	Glwth	—	A burgeſs
Terag	Puctain	—	Bad or evil
Daſgar	Bwrgais	—	A diſh
Shiovang	Drwg	—	Honourable, well to paſs
Anas	Dyſgl	—	To inſtigate, or incite
Tam	Siongc	—	Nothing
Pherch	Annos	—	A tender branch, a daughter
Tetuva	Dim	—	Penitent
Leamor	Y ferch	—	Saying
Cafas	Edifar	—	To ſearch or ſeek
Cark	Ar laſar	—	To bind, or imprifon
Kam	Ceiſio	—	To bend, or make crooked
Caffa	Carchar	—	A beam, or a joit
	Cammu	—	
	Cyff	—	

HEBREW.	DERIVATIVES.		ENGLISH.
Cevel	Ar gyfyl	Br.	Near, or in presence of
Dumga	Dammeg	—	A simile, or a proverb
Tor and Sor	Tarw	—	A bull
Turna	Teyrn	—	A prince, or potentate
Manos	Mynydd	—	A mountain
Malas	Melys	—	Sweet, or to sweeten
Palac	Plygu	—	To fold, or lap up
Panc	Mainc	—	A bench
Malal	Malu	—	To grind
Marak	Marc	—	A note or character
Cadif	Gwadu	—	To tell a lie, or deny
Tohum	Dyfn	—	Depth
Cclar	Coler	—	A neck-band
Corontha	Coron	—	A crown, or diadem
Berek	Brëg	—	A breach, or scissure
Bagad	Bagad	—	A great many
Arach	Arogli	—	To smell
Nagafh	Yn agos	—	To approach, or draw nigh
Ciliah	Ceilliau	—	Stones or testicles
Gevr	Cawr	—	A giant
Kec	Cëg	—	A mouth, or throat
Kun	Cwyno	—	To lament
Natfar	Dinystr	—	Destruction, or ruin
Pinnah	Pinagl	—	A top of a thing, or pinnacle
Mahalal	Mawl or Moli	—	To praise, or glorify
Hedel	Hoedl	—	Life, age
Halal	Haul	—	Sun, or to shine
Gavel	Gafael	—	Tenure, or lands bounded
Lafhadd	Glasfadd	—	Blueish
Gerem	Grym, grymmus	—	Bony or strong
Mafac	Cym-myscu	—	To mingle
Gana	Canu	—	To sing
Celimmah	Calumnia	Lat.	Reproach and calumny
Netz	Nifus	—	Endeavour
Ptfel	Pfile	Greek	To make bare, or uncover
Shufhan	Soufon	—	Lilly
Shecan	Scene	—	To dwell in tabernacles
Kalal	Gwael	Br.	Vile, or of no account
Taffi	Diffoddi	—	To extinguish
Tfelem	Delw	—	An image
Hoberi	Obry	—	Men over against, or men on the other
Aen-adon	Anudon	—	Disclaiming God, or perjury

The Collection of many of the Hebrew-British words in this Table I owe to the industry of Mr. CH. EDWARDS, author of The Brief History of the Christian Religion, published in the Welsh tongue.

REMARKS

REMARKS on this TABLE.

THE great analogy and unaffected resemblance between the primitive and derivative words in this catalogue (abating the different ways of pronouncing in different languages) is a plain and ample evidence, that the several words of the languages therein mentioned owe their origin to, and derivation from, the first and most ancient language of mankind, generally called the Hebrew tongue. And our British, even in the state it is at present (for I meddle not with any, or very few of its old obsolete words) having more sounds in it, agreeing with that primitive tongue, than all the rest put together, is also an argument that this British tongue was in its first structure and origin one of the primary issues of it; and that if we give way to criticism and etymology, it must be from that original language that we are to derive and account for many words and names in our British tongue, which otherwise would be unaccountable.

But now to be more perfectly satisfied what this original Hebrew tongue was; and whether we brought what we had and have still of it here, with our first planters and others of the same stock and language with them, from Babel; or had it afterward transported here from Phœnicia by the tin-traders, which seems to be the opinion of some of late, but so ill-grounded that I take it not worth confuting; I shall beg the reader's leave to remark and examine a little further than I have done before into those points of difficulty that appear in the two former particulars, viz. what this original Hebrew tongue was, and whether we brought what we have still of it *here*, with our first planters and others of the same stock and language with them, from Babel.

In order to which I shall here lay down these three Propositions, from which I shall endeavour to draw such corollaries as shall be of force to infer a conclusion that I hope will evince the truth of the matter before us.

FIRST, That there was one, and but one language in the world, from the time of Adam to the building of Babel.

SECONDLY, That at the building of the tower of Babel, there happened among those who were concerned in that daring wicked attempt a cessation, for some time at least, and confusion of that language.

THIRDLY, That upon the extraordinary cessation or confusion of the first language, the men who were engaged in that grand overture, were fain to remove their quarters and to disperse themselves in separate families to plant and inhabit the face of the earth. And in that removal and dispersion, every separate tribe or family, retaining in a due tenor their faculties of understanding, and the organical disposition of their voice; and by what they could recollect and recover of their dissipated ancient language, were necessitated to improve that little stock of words so recovered, and where they found themselves at a loss, to frame new ones into a way or mode of speaking, different from the improvements, forms and ways of speaking at the same time made use of in other families; which in the different progress of those improvements came at length to be what we call different languages.

PROPOSITION I.

The First Proposition, That there was but one language from the time of Adam or the beginning of the world to the dispersion at Babel, at least from the Universal Deluge to that time, is readily granted by all who acknowledge the authority of the sacred scriptures; for it is there expressly affirmed, that then, viz. before that dispersion, the whole earth was *Unius Labii*, of one language and of one speech, Gen. xi. 1.

Now from this general Proposition, three questions will naturally arise. First, Whether it was one language that was spoken by men from the creation to the time of that dispersion? Secondly, What that language was? and, Thirdly, At what time the confusion of that language happened—and if Noah was then alive?

FIRST, As to the sameness and identity of that language from Adam to the deluge (for thence to the dispersion no one questions it) the account that Moses gives in the place referred to, is not express, I own, further than the words—*whole earth*—will bear it; which yet one would think would be to little purpose for him to have said (the whole generation of men being then, viz. at the dispersion but one family under one *Pater-Familias*, that is, Noah, and who cannot be presumed to have more than one language among them) if the sacred penman had one thereby meant all the preceding generations thence to the creation.

And this meaning of his, I hope, will appear to be very reasonable, when we consider this matter a little further, and take in these following particulars. First, The nature of that language. Secondly, The condition of the men that propagated and made use of it. And, Thirdly,

Thirdly, The remains, as to names and things, which we have in scripture of it.

FIRST, The nature of that first language we are to examine two ways. First, In relation to God. Secondly, To man. In relation to God, we are to believe that God made nothing imperfect; and having created man in his own likeness, he not only gave him powers and faculties suitable to his intended felicity on earth, but such a perfection of them as his nature was capable of. Now shall we think that God created Adam with that perfection of faculties his nature was capable of, and his social happiness required, and yet left him, like a child new-born, dumb and without speech? It is not to be imagined. The first act we find of him is speaking; and speaking too in such perfection, that he could readily give names suitable to the natures and properties of those his fellow-creatures, which were brought unto him; which is a plain argument, that God gave him actual speech with his other perfections. And if this speech of Adam was of God's own making, and infused into him with his other perfections, I shall make no scruple to affirm the perfection of it to have been so great, that no alteration at that time could, or perhaps durst be made in it.

Next, in relation to man; we have seen that Adam was created in such perfection in the faculties of his soul and in the organs of his body, that as that part of his happiness which consisted in his dominion over his fellow-creatures required the immediate use of the former, so his necessary converse with those of his own species, as we find it actually did, as immediately required the practice of the latter. By this it will appear, that Adam's language being one of his created perfections, we cannot but reckon it to have been so accomplished, even to grammatical niceties, that there was no need to change or alter it, 'till God was pleased, in as extraordinary a way as it was infused, to put a period to it.

But to what has been above said, I must needs add these observations. First, That taking the first chapter of Genesis in the literal sense, it will seem sufficiently plain from thence, that God himself was the first author of language; for we find God using there a scheme of words (which is language) to express the ideas of the divine mind, in the works of the creation, before Adam had a being; and soon after we find the Serpent also, to our sorrow, too skilful in it, who surely learned it not of Adam. Secondly, In that which we may call the language of God, as to the quality and use of it, we may observe him to make use

of general terms to express abstract ideas, together with what they call mixed modes and nominal essences, even before Adam was created, which yet * some would fain make to be the meer creatures of human understanding; which, strictly taken, cannot be true, since God used them before man was created. Thirdly, We may observe that it will hence follow, that Adam learned this language of God, or what is the same thing, was inspired with it at the instant of his creation, or at least with a general idea of it and the way of using it. Fourthly, Observing how the perfection of language consists chiefly in applying constantly and invariably the same words to the same ideas, as best serving the real ends of truth and knowledge, we may hence conclude, that Adam, as prince of mankind, had authority enough to establish the precise signification of words, and to command the strict observance of that rule of speaking to all his posterity; which must needs preserve the language he transmitted to them entire and unaltered, till it met with that fatal change and confusion at Babel. Fifthly and Lastly, We may observe, that it is no more difficult to conceive how Adam was inspired with that one language, which I may call *sacred*, because coming from God; than it is that the apostles were enabled in an instant to speak so effectually in strange ones, whereof they knew not before perhaps one syllable, till their minds were divinely warmed and fashioned in a surprising manner to the use and practice of them. In short, as God accommodated these holy men with ready significant words to express their thoughts, as occasion required, in untaught languages; so it is as probable that Adam was supernaturally assisted by the like divine energy to form new words, and give them their steady peculiar significations, as he grew more acquainted with things, and as a greater variety of objects in the course of his life made themselves present to his understanding; for the holy scripture is positive for the one, though silent in the other.

SECONDLY, If we consider the condition of the men that propagated and made use of this first language, we find them of very long lives; and though they might encrease to a vast number on the face of the earth, yet, were there no other reason for it, men living so long, that three or four ages made up the whole interval or space of time from the creation to the confusion of this original tongue, may be well presumed to have preserved it entire, and to have secured it from any corruption or failure.

* Lock's Essay, Book III. Chap. 4, 5; and 6.

THIRDLY, The words and names of that ante-diluvian language, what remain of them upon record, shew that from the time of Adam it was one and the same language with that which was broken and dissipated at Babel : of which having * before given some account, I shall now on this head forbear to say any thing further.

The second question arising from the first proposition is, What that first language was, which I have endeavoured to prove was preserved entire, until it came to be confounded and diversified at Babel? The critics upon this question are sufficiently divided in their opinions. Grotius, and some other authors, have pretended that this first language was quite lost in the confusion; and would fain make it out, that Moses had changed the ancient names, the etymology of which is set down in Hebrew ones, in his book of Genesis. But the grounds these gentlemen go upon, have so very little foundation in history or criticism, that they deserve not to be insisted upon.

The Jews affirm their own language, the Hebrew, to have been the first tongue in the world, and are not wanting in giving good reasons for it. The Syrians give this prerogative to the Chaldee or Syriac tongue; and they pretend to prove it, because their tongue seems not only to be the most natural of all tongues, but also because Abraham, the father of the Jews, was a Chaldean; and that Laban in Genesis spake Chaldee or Syriac. On the other hand, the Arabians pretend the Arabic was before all other languages; and the Cophthes, the Æthiopians, and the Armenians dispute for their languages. Nay, Goropius Becanus would have it to be the Almain or Dutch; because he found the etymology of some scripture names and words accountable for in his language. So uncertain it is in history, which language, after the confusion, it was, that was one and the same with the ante-diluvian tongue.

It is indeed the general opinion that the house and family of Heber, being not joined in the cursed attempt at Babel, escaped the malediction, and preserved their language; and that from his name, to distinguish it from others that were then every where starting up out of the ruins of the old one, the tongue he used was called Hebrew. But whether his language escaped so free from the taint of that confusion, as to have preserved itself entire, and to have suffered nothing by it, is very hard to determine.

* See Second Essay, Proposition 2.

There is another opinion, and that too favoured by the Septuagint, that the language of the Jews was called Hebrew, from a word in the tongue, *Hoberi*, which signifies *men on the other side*, that is, from the other side of Euphrates, as if the word denoted only those who had passed this river. But, in my opinion, Father Simon, of the oratory at Paris, has sufficiently detected the vanity of that surmise, by shewing by right grammatical construction, that if the name had accrued to the Jews and their language on that account, they should have been called *Hobri*, and their language, *Hobrew*. Grammatical analogy will rather have the word Hebrew to come from * *Heber*, as the most ancient and generally entertained opinion among the Jews makes it to have been; especially since Heber's family was so very considerable at the time of the confusion, and remarkable for having abstained from concurring with the rest in that wicked enterprise, that his name was more likely to denominate the purer remains of that original language, than this pretended situation of a place and the neighbourhood of a river.

But however these things were, we find this Hebrew language, even just after the confusion, to have been the common speech of all Syria and Palestine, and other countries from Babylon to the Mediterranean sea; and even taken up by the posterity of Ham in all those countries: Who having lost it in the confusion, might probably by their intercourse with the family of Heber, resume it again and make it their own, with such alterations as gave rise to the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and other ancient tongues, in those countries, which differ very little from it. So that it is most probable the posterity both of Ham and Japheth, who continued in those near and bordering regions, made use of that language that afterward went generally under the name of Hebrew. For in the prophecy of Isaiah, the Hebrew tongue, as Mr. Brerewood observes, is called the † Language of Canaan; and the Septuagint translate these words [† the kings of Canaan] the kings of Phœnicia or Palestine, which were the countries of the posterity of Ham and Japheth. And it is observed also by Bochart, a man very well skilled in those languages, that the Hebrew tongue, in which the holy scriptures are written, is much the same with the old Phœnician: And on this reason I took up some Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic words in this Comparative Table under the title of Hebrew, when I found the derivatives to come up with them to a near congruity in sound and signification.

* Abraham, the sixth from Heber, is called the Hebrew, Gen. xiv. 13.

† Isaiah xix. 18. ‡ Joshua v. 1.

The third question under this Proposition is, At what time this confusion of the first language happened, and if Noah was then alive? To give some solution to this difficulty; as to the first part of the question, wherein the sentiments of chronologers and historians extremely vary, We are, First, In order to fix this time, to take what circumstantial evidence the express words of scripture (for no positive certainty therein appears) afford, to guide us in determining this particular. Secondly, We are to allow the approved testimonies of the most ancient historiographers seconding the said determination. And, Thirdly, We must take in also the consideration of the state and condition of nature, requisite thereunto, as the material cause and subject of this effect.

FIRST, As to the evidence of scripture; it does not nicely determine the time, as to year, month, or day, as it does in other great events, but only limits it to the days of Peleg. For Moses expressly says, "that in Peleg's days the earth was divided," Gen. x. 25; Now some authors, particularly * Mr. Sheringham would have this division of the earth, which happened in the days of Peleg, to have been long before the dispersion at Babel; and that that dispersion was after Noah's death. *Ego verò (saith he) Ædificium Babylonicum non nisi post obitum Noachi extrui captum arbitror.* But this is *gratis dictum*; rather said, than sufficiently proved; there being not one syllable in scripture, nor any good warrant from the nature of the thing, to favour this position.

For as to scripture, it plainly avouches the contrary. For just on the commencement of this confusion, to which the dispersion of the people and the division of the earth were consequents, it is mentioned that God said, "Behold, the people is one and the language one," Gen. xi. 6. Which sufficiently proves, that the people being one, were not then divided, neither after their tongues, after their families, nor in their nations; although this division or dispersion be proleptically mentioned by Moses in the foregoing chapter. Neither will this opinion, viz. that the division taken notice of in the tenth of Genesis, was long before the dispersion at Babel, mentioned in the following chapter, find any better patronage from reason and the nature of the thing; tho' a great deal that way is pretended to. For how could Noah, to whom this act of dividing the earth is attributed, or indeed any other person at that time, when they kept together as one people and as one family, be reasonably supposed capable of assigning and determining such and

* *Lib. de origine Gentis Anglorum, p. 436*

such parts and portions of the earth to be possessed and inhabited by such and such people, before they had knowledge of those parts and regions, some of them expressly and by name, so distant from them as, for instance, the isles of the Gentiles were? And if it be urged herein, that Noah or his sons might have preserved a plan, or retained an idea in their head, of the geography of the ante-diluvian earth; yet it ought to be considered that the great devastation the universal bulk of water at the deluge had wrought on the face of the earth, which they were then to re-people, and the great changes and alterations of sea and land, which in many places are now found, and probably found by them then, to have been the effects and consequences of that devastation, must have been a bar (naturally speaking) to such a procedure, and continue so, until the dispersion at Babel necessitated them to seek new regions. And then indeed from new discoveries the authority of Noah, their sole monarch, might well exert itself in dividing the earth, and assigning to these families, mentioned in the tenth of Genesis, their several portions of land, to be possessed and cultivated by them, according to their tongues, according to their kindred, and in their nations.

SECONDLY, The joint consent of ancient historiographers and chronologers gives authority to affirm Nimrod, the grandson of Ham, to have been the founder of Babel, pursuant to the express words of Moses, "that the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel," Gen. x. 10. So that his name implying rebellion against the ordinance of God, and his character of a *mighty hunter* before the Lord denoting also usurping tyranny over men, we may from thence safely conclude him the author or chief promoter of that wicked attempt against heaven; which provoked God to quash the enterprize, and to punish it with the confusion of the first language; and thereby with the dispersion of that infatuated mis-led people he had drawn together, and encouraged to share with him in that proud, profane, rebellious undertaking. "Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, that we be not scattered abroad upon the face of the earth." Gen. xi. 4.

It seems that generation of mankind had an intimation given them, either by Noah or by God himself, to divide and separate in order to inhabit the whole earth; which this rebellious * Nimrod, the prime leader of resistance, and the great hunter after empire, strenuously

* Vide Joseph. Hist. Jud. lib. i. c. 4.

withstood ; and on the ensnaring maxims of self-preservation and public safety, prevailed with the greatest part of mankind to take that pernicious course, which yet, by the over-ruling wisdom of Providence, directly led them to what, by their own wretched forecast, they thought to avoid. They had heard the next destruction threatened was to be by fire ; and therefore a prodigious mole of brick-work was designed (as fire-proof) to secure their safety, or at least to give them a name : the latter indeed it did, for the whole ended in confusion, and the name it had was Babel ; and therefore the holy penman, accounting for this Nimrod, very appositely says, “ and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel.”

Now whether this Nimrod in scripture be the same with Belus, whom the ancient writers of history mention to have been the founder of the Babylonian monarchy, is not so easily determined ; though many take these two names to import one and the same person, and that Belus or Baal was only a title or attribute signifying *lord* or *tyrant*. Yet if the pretended epitaph on Ninus's tomb, mentioned by Xenophon, deserves any credit, they were two persons, father and son ; but the chronology related to be in that inscription being egregiously false, the whole is justly rejected as counterfeit.

However that was, the scripture is express, that the division of the earth was in the days of Peleg, and the dispersion of people and their separation began at Babel during the reign or tyranny of Nimrod, for *that* is said to have been the beginning of his kingdom. Now Nimrod being the third in descent from Ham ; and Peleg, according to the Hebrew text, the fourth (or if we take Cainan in, according to St. Luke and the Seventy's computation, then he is) the fifth in descent from Sem. Whence it appears, that the confusion happened under the reign of Nimrod, and that the actual dispersion was in the days of Peleg, the younger of the two in descent, and probably in age, tho' by reason of their long lives they were contemporary ; it will consequently follow, that this dispersion of people preceded, or at least was much about the same time with, the actual division of the earth, namely, at Babel.

Some of the fathers of the Christian church, I confess, ascribe the confusion and division here accounted for, to the beginning of Peleg's days, or to the time of his birth, which was Anno 101, post diluvium, alluding to the import of his name, as if given him in memory of that act. But that, as I shall presently shew, could not conveniently be ;

for

for it is not said, "at the birth," or "in the beginning of," but "in the days of Peleg, the earth was divided;" whereby we have a greater latitude left us to fix the date of the division.

Nimrod, by consent of all ancient chronologers, began his reign about the year 170 after the flood, arrived to the height of his tyranny at about fourteen years after, viz. Anno 184, post diluvium, and died Anno 249, post diluv. So likewise Peleg, by the scripture account, being born Anno 101, post diluv. his days continued by the same account to Anno 340, post diluv. So that here by these accounts, the reign of Nimrod and the days of Peleg being marks or standards given us to fix and determine the date of this grand affair, we must take them together to adjust this matter; and thereby it will with the greatest probability appear, that it happened about the year 240, after the flood; when Nimrod was at the height of his tyranny, about nine years before his death; and when Peleg was about the hundred and thirty-ninth of his age. So that both the facts of confusion and division come up with great agreement to what the scripture expressly says of the one, viz. "that the beginning of his kingdom was Babel;" and of the other, "that the division was in the days of Peleg," which is an intimation not to be neglected, and comes pretty nicely to determine this point.

THIRDLY, The consideration also of the state and condition of nature, that is, at what time the increase and multiplication of mankind was capable of this division of people into so many principalities and nations, as are recorded in the tenth chapter of Genesis, will greatly conduce to a right determination of this matter. Here the opinion of those who assign the time of this division (if they mean actual division, i. e. when they were really and actually divided) to the birth of Peleg, which was Anno 101, post diluv. seems to be quite overthrown by the very Mosaic accounts. For we are to observe, that Moses reckons in that division of families no less than seventy-two princes or heads of people; and surely we must allow them at least an equal number of females for wives, and a few children also before they could be families; which must amount to a greater number of souls than the propagation of mankind out of * three pairs could afford in the space of an hundred and one years. For if we grant every male and female, in the first post-diluvian century, to beget eight children (one with another) by the time they arrived to the age of forty years; we shall find by the

* Noah cannot be supposed to have begot any children after the flood, for his wife was then too old; and it is not to be imagined that, after her decease, he married any of his own offspring.

rule of arithmetical progression, that allowing the first ten years of that century for Shem, Ham, and Japheth (and of them the whole earth was overspread, Gen. ix. 19.) to beget twenty-four children or twelve pairs of people; and forty years more, for these twelve pairs, to beget ninety-six children or forty-eight pairs; and forty years more, for these forty-eight pairs, to beget three hundred and eighty-four children, male and female; which is just ninety years after the deluge; it follows that the whole number of souls (supposing the number of males and females equal, and none to have died) at the year 101, when Peleg was born, could amount to no more than five hundred and twelve persons, with children under eleven years old—surely too inconsiderable a number for so great an affair, as the dividing of the whole earth, erecting a kingdom, building a tower, whose top was to reach heaven, with all the pompous enumeration of so many tongues, families, and nations, as appear in the tenth of Genesis, was to have been; far surpassing the capacity of so small a number.

But let us proceed with this calculation of an eight-fold encrease of mankind at every forty years period, and we shall find that at the year 240, after the flood, the encrease of mankind swelled to a number sufficiently proportionable to that work; the sum whereof, collectively taken, amounted to upwards of thirty-two thousand eight hundred and thirty-two souls. And when withal, we take into consideration, the spontaneous fecundity of the earth at that time in producing sustenance to man without much toil and labour, the vigorous healthy constitution of men, their long lives, the long continued fruitfulness and teeming condition of their women, the allowance of polygamy (their great and most necessary work at that time, as well as the command of God unto them, being to encrease and multiply :) All this considered, it may be well supposed that in their last hundred and forty years, they encreased in much greater proportion; for when their stock of people was grown numerous, the multiplication went on faster, on account of their longævity and their allowed polygamy; and the cognation and proximity of blood (which at first was some obstacle in the course of generation) being then grown wider and remoter, therefore I think on the said supposition, it will be easily granted that their real number, at the year 240, was much greater than I have reckoned; especially if the number of females exceeded the males, which as a reasonable surplusage may come in, not only to supply the number of those that died from the deluge to that time, but also to enhance by some thousands

more the estimate I have here made of them at the dispersion of Babel. So to conclude this Proposition, we find that the reign of Nimrod and the days of Peleg are the best marks we have to determine this question; which induced me to establish the date of this affair in or about Anno 240, *post diluv.* a little before the death of the one, and about the middle of the days of the other. At which time mankind was sufficiently numerous to become capable of being the subject of that great work; after which time, viz. 240, the holy scripture is positive (to prove the latter part of this question) that Noah lived a hundred and ten years. And if this computation should be looked upon as not satisfactory; I shall only add, that it is allowed by all on very good grounds, that Abraham was born after this dispersion; and being born, as the express chronology of Moses has it, in the seventieth year of the age of Terah, which by that chronology was the two hundred and ninety-second year after the deluge; (for as to the sixty years more that are by some added to the age of Terah before Abraham was born, there is no sufficient warrant in scripture for it, and what is produced for it from Acts vii. 4. is otherwise to be accounted for) I shall therefore conclude, that Noah living three hundred and fifty years after the flood, Gen. ix. 28. must be contemporary with Abraham for the space of fifty-eight years, and consequently survive the dispersion at Babel, a great number of years, which is all I aim at and contend for in this particular.

PROPOSITION II.

Having hitherto shewed that the first way of speaking was one entire language to the confusion; and that that was what we call the Hebrew tongue: My second proposition is, That at the building of the tower of Babel, there happened among those who were concerned in that daring enterprize a cessation, for some time at least, and confusion of that first language.

This must also be allowed by all who own the authority of the holy scriptures; for Moses there expressly says, that God confounded their language, that men could not understand one another's talk, as you will find, Gen. xi. 6, 9.

Under this proposition, I shall consider, First, What this cessation or confusion of the first language was. Secondly, What influence it had upon, and how far it effected the separation and dispersion of people over the face of the whole earth; for that seems to have been the chief end and design of it, "Let us confound their language" (says

(says God) “ that they may not understand one another ;” so the Lord scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth.

FIRST, What this confusion was? It seems it was a punishment that the sins of those people were then ripe for. Unity of language, if joined with the sincere worship of God, and with mutual benevolence and charity amongst men, is a great blessing; but when it is used to affront and pervert those ends, as it seems it then was, it becomes a curse; and therefore God inflicted it upon these men, by dividing their communication, and sending them away, one party from another, to the end that some at least might be good, if the greater part of them would continue wicked and rebellious.

There is some diversity of opinion about the act and manner of confounding this first language at Babel; but what is alledged on that particular may be sorted under these two heads:

FIRST, Some take the word בבל *Babal*, by which this confusion is there expressed, to signify, among those builders, a mixing and changing the known sense and meaning of some sounds into the sense and import of other sounds, and those into others again, and so through: As when some called for brick, others understood thereby and brought mortar; when they called for mortar, others again understood thereby and brought them gravel; and in this manner they conceive, that such of those people, as understood and had one and the same meaning of every sound or word they heard, became in an instant men of one and the same language*.

Thus they account for this confusion, and how thereupon the several † mother-tongues were made or framed by God in the minds of those divided parties. But since it appears that one end of this confounding of their tongues was to deter them from a further prosecution of that work, methinks, this was not the way to put a stop to it. For in this case we must conceive, that either God inspired a new language into every individual man, as he deprived him of the old one; or else gave this new-formed language to separate parties or families of men. If the first, then indeed there was grown up a goodly stock of tongues, far better adapted for soliloquies, than for conversation and society. If the second be true, then it will follow that the end that God designed

* Confounding and mingling have very different ideas; in mingling, the form and properties of the things mingled are preserved, but in confounding are all destroyed.

† These mother-tongues some authors reckon to have been seventy-two in number, because so many persons or heads of families are mentioned in the tenth of Genesis; of which mother-tongues, Scaliger reckons eleven (four principal and seven less principal) to have come to Europe.

to have been effected by it, that is, the putting a stop to that audacious attempt, might have been frustrated and defeated. For if God, in that grand extirpation of the old, immediately framed new languages in the mouths of so many parties of men ; it was easy to foresee, that by the combining and confederating together of these new-gifted parties, who well understood one another, and might thereby well manage their design, the work in hand might prosper and go on as before ; and nothing that way could hinder it, but another confusion, and perhaps another after that, and so on infinitely. Which procedure must needs be reckoned very absurd, and therefore not likely to be the true matter of fact. And yet as incongruous, as when examined into, it seems to be, it is to this day the most generally entertained opinion, that God miraculously framed and put into the minds of men, at the confusion, those diversified modes of speaking, which are called by the name of mother-tongues ; and which afterwards multiplied and improved themselves into abundance of dialects, and those at length into all the languages the world hath been acquainted with ; though the holy scripture mentions not (which is very strange if it had been true) one word of so great a miracle.

SECONDLY, Some others finding the grounds of this last opinion not stable enough, conceive otherwise of the matter. They allow a deletion (if not a total one, yet one in such a measure as was enough to obstruct the work) of the first language : They look upon that act of punishment which confounded it, to have been a sort of extraordinary stupor or delirium, which God in his just indignation threw among that brain-sick race of men, who impiously imagined, that with their molehill, in comparison, they were able to defy and oppose heaven and all its menaces ; when in an instant, the divine nemesis so spread that stupifying evil among the multitude, that they were so far from being able to effect what they vainly undertook, that they had scarce a word to say or answer to one another. The memory, it seems, being by that stupor quite subverted, communication immediately ceased ; the multitude dissolved and dissipated (that bond of communication which knit them together being broke) and the work was instantly laid aside and abandoned.

This account of the matter, I confess, is very agreeable to God's design, and comes fully home to the end and purpose of it ; and is the second thing I design to treat of under this Proposition : Therefore,

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, As for the influence and force this punishment was to have in dissipating and dispersing these people; it ought here to be taken for granted (and indeed it is a maxim of undoubted truth) that an end proposed, especially by an all-wise and infinite agent, requires and will always infer that the means made use of to bring it to pass be adequately suitable and effectual to it. And now in this case, since we find the means asserted by the patrons of the first opinion, on several accounts incompetent to that end and exceptionable, in being many ways liable to evade and defeat it, we cannot therefore allow it to be a true representation of that affair, though the opinion that hands it to us be ever so general. Neither indeed can we look upon it as properly a punishment, if in that act, God only changed their old language for a number of new ones. And if it be by some rather thought he did so, such as think so should consider, whether it be any way agreeable to the divine wisdom, who works every thing perfectly, to be the author of such rude, mean, imperfect gibberishes, as the first languages after the dispersion are known to have been; and also, if the mother-tongues at their first coming abroad had been tolerably accurate and expressive, as surely they would have been, had they (as is pretended) come immediately from the hands of God, what need would there have been of borrowing and begging one of another, and of all the labour that has been afterwards spent in improving, augmenting and polishing them, to make them useful?

But on the other side, if we look upon this overture as a great and signal vengeance inflicted on the impiety of those men, and on their language which was instrumental to it, God as it were with one blow dashing their whole enterprize, by striking every man of them dumb, and probably for some time deaf also, as the word *you* in the text seems to intimate, viz. And God confounded their language that they *heard* not one another; for *that* is the propriety of the word; considering this, I say, we have great reason to apprehend, that the amazement and terror accompanying that act, next to striking them dead upon the spot, must carry the greatest and most irresistible influence with it, upon the fears and passions of those men, disposing them to desist from so dangerous and mischievous an attempt. And when they found their memory, as to words and their former habits of speaking, quite gone, defaced and ruined, nature itself, with the help of what reason and judgment remained in them, besides the effects of that fright and consternation, must be acknowledged also to be of some force

to make them withdraw and divide themselves into separate bands and companies.

For when this inflicted damp and terror was over, and their retained reason began to clear up and display itself, we may well imagine their inward thoughts, wanting their accustomed former vents, began to glow and burn within them, pushing them to form new sounds, and to tack and fasten them to such ideas as every minute called for and wanted their assistance; which tacking of sounds to ideas, and ideas to things, is properly the ground-work of all languages.

This work was of great consequence, and must be speedily attempted; and they could not but by a few trials find it as feasible as it was necessary, having their faculties and organs prompt and ready for it. But for all that it was not to be done in a multitude, where a few settled sounds would be soon lost, before any current stamp could be fixed upon them. Hence will appear by this latter opinion, which the former indeed is wide of, how the divine terror of this act, and also the direct and natural result of it became a cause to make that vast innumerable concourse of people break up, and oblige them to retire and divide into little communities; where, and in which circumstance only, they could be in a way to repair their loss, and to refit themselves for future converse: Which people could scarce, if at all, bring to pass in great assemblies and extended multitudes; it being the work of that art which never admits of too many heads or hands, but of united skill, industry and diligence to lay down the ground-work of a new-formed language.

Thus I take it almighty Providence most benignly adapted the punishment of this people to their future advantage; and most wisely contrived, by taking away their first language, to make *that* a means of dividing themselves into great numbers of communities and governments; and *that* of forming new languages; and that too of cementing them together into nations, in order to disperse them over the face of the earth. And if God had not taken away the old, or when he had done so, had himself framed and inspired new languages into them, as many are of opinion he did; I much doubt whether that dispersion could have been so readily and conveniently effected (naturally speaking) as in the method herein explained we presume it was.

PROPOSITION III.

Having shewed under the foregoing Proposition, that the confusion of the first language, therein briefly accounted for, had in its effects,

as well a natural as a moral efficacy to break up that impious assembly, and divide them into many associated bands and companies, in order to disperse them far and wide to colonize the face of the earth; it appears from thence that God seemed to look upon that one first language to be a great impediment to it, and therefore confounded it; and made men, by the consequences of that confusion, retire and withdraw themselves to recover their lost speech. And these men having so separated and * divided themselves, it was also natural for them to seek out new habitations; which is what I take to be meant by dispersion, and comes here to be made use of under the force of a Proposition; because the scripture, whose testimony amounts to the highest force of evidence, expressly affirms (event also visibly seconding it) that God came down, confounded their language, and scattered them abroad upon the face of the earth, Gen. xi. 7, 8. Upon which Proposition I shall proceed very briefly with these following particulars.

FIRST, Before we come to the detail of this Proposition, we may in general conceive that these people who were thus divided, confederated themselves, to the end mentioned, in kindreds and families; and of these some immediately removed and took their progress, as they increased and multiplied, into far countries, India, China, Tartary, &c. and in their way thither propagated many nations and languages; and some others fixed their abodes in regions near adjoining to the place of their dispersion.

These latter, in that first and most important work of composing and framing words to utter their minds, and to convey their conceptions to one another, we may well presume, were very much relieved and assisted by their neighbours, the house and family of Heber; at whose shining lamp these unhappy men might by their permission and favour soon rekindle their extinguished torches, and by recollecting also what their broken and harrassed memory would afford, recover many words of their lost language, and perhaps by that means come to raise and model their new forms of speech upon the recovered ruins of it.

And this I take to be the only or chief reason of the appearing of so many Hebrew words in the tongues of those people who descended out of such as had made their first settlements in those adjoining countries about Syria and Babylon; which was the case with many of the nations of Europe, and particularly our own. And upon this ac-

count I hope it will appear, that it was with good reason and upon warrantable grounds, that I endeavoured and undertook in these Essays to trace the origin, and deduce the ancient names and characters of many of our superannuated rites and performances of religion in the western part of Europe, from the language and customs of that age and people; especially since even to this day we have so many plain unforced words of that primitive tongue among us, as the preceding table discovers, that it cannot with any shew of reason be doubted, but that the ancient language (what name soever we give it) out of which the Gaulish or British tongue was derived, was one of those I now mentioned, which took their rise from, and built their structures upon, the remains of that most ancient Hebrew tongue.

SECONDLY, It being now shewed that many of the Asian tongues, viz. the Armenian, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, &c. borrowed or derived so much of this ancient Hebrew, that in their primitive words and radicals they are almost the same with it; we are next to consider that among those languages which, by the favour of Heber and his family, took into them so great variety of Hebrew sounds, the languages of the sons of Japheth, at least those of Gomer and Javan, which gave rise to the old Celtic that was the mother of most of the ancient tongues of Europe, have participated in a great measure of that advantage of borrowing from the language of Heber: Which consideration may supersede the wonder we usually are at, to find even to this day so great a number of genuine Hebrew words in the Greek, Latin, Teutonic, and British tongues; and those (some of them) the very same; and others so very little disguised and altered, abating what is usual in pronouncing the words of one language in another, that I flatter myself into a belief that no impartial man will ever doubt of it, or suspect their coming from any other origin.

Nay more; their being the same, as many of them are, with the known Hebrew words that are of one signification with them, (except what is already excepted) is to me an irrefragable proof, that they did, and could not indeed but, come from that origin; it being next to impossible that so many words as the foregoing table presents to our view, could ever by chance meet in one and the same sound and signification. And no other cause of such coincidence offering itself, it is therefore an apparent evidence that these languages I account for must on the reason I mention proceed and be derived from one and the same fountain-head, the ancient Hebrew tongue.

Now

Now in order to give the reason of this procedure a little more weight, the reader will pardon me here a small digression. To that end, he will please to consider that as Noah was at the time of this dispersion the *father* of all mankind, excepting his own and his sons' wives, if then living;—for we are pretty well assured that Noah and his son Shem lived then and many years after it—so he was their chief monarch to direct them in the way of polity and government; and their chief priest and prophet to instruct them in the true worship of God, and in the way of religion. And indeed, as to both these capacities and his actings in them, there are some remains of antiquity that inform us, that Noah laid down rules, as established laws, to his posterity, which go under the name of *Mitzoth bene Noach*, viz. “The statutes of the sons of Noah;” because delivered to them for moral, political and theological rules to conform themselves unto, and to be made use of by their posterity, as certain standards of justice and piety; on which account I take it, it was that St. Peter calls him a Preacher of Righteousness, 2 Pet. ii. v. that is, a propounder of good and righteous laws among his posterity.

These laws in all probability were the sum or an abstract of those that were given by God to Adam at the creation; and which continued after in the church of God to the time of Abraham. For surely some laws they had which were promulged to them (for where there is no law there can be no sin) during the time of the patriarchal oeconomy; which was at an end in the time of Abraham, when circumcision and other new laws were added and had a new force and sanction sealed upon them. And indeed to these, or such as these, God himself seems to have reference, when he blessed Abraham: And for a reason of that blessing, God says, “Because Abraham obeyed my voice;” which undoubtedly referred to his willingness to offer his son Isaac; then adds, “And kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws,” Gen. xxvi. 5. Now what these commandments, statutes and laws, which God here calls his own, were, we must be far to seek, if they be not these I now mention; the heads whereof you have in the margin of the following page.

They were seven in number.

1. *De cavendâ Idololatriâ.*
2. *De maledictione Numinis.*
3. *De sanguinis Effusione.*
4. *De non revelanda turpitudine.*
5. *De Rapinâ & Furto.*
6. *De Judiciis.*
7. *De membro Animalis vivi non comedendo.*

These patriarchal laws I have had frequent occasion to mention in the foregoing Essays.

For, First, I have before shewed how it is generally presumed that Heber and all his family preserved their language; Secondly, Noah being then alive must be supposed to be one, nay the head, of that family; and, Thirdly, If so, we may well presume that many of that dispersing multitude, out of filial piety resorted to Noah to bewail their misfortune, and to receive his commands and instructions. And how could this be done but in his own language? And how could they be the better for his fatherly instructions and documents, which undoubtedly he took care to inculcate upon them, but by their learning *that* language by their frequent resort to that family in which he resided? This is to me a plain case, that a great deal of the first language was soon again recovered, at least by Heber's nearest neighbours. And of that number some of the sons of Japheth, particularly Gomer and Javan, might very probably be: And on that account may be reckoned, not only to have carried with them a vastly greater stock of Hebrew words than I have shewed in this table, (great allowance being to be made for what was since lost in the multiplying of dialects) but also more especially that they carried with them the schemes and forms of worship, practised in those days; and with these, the original names and characters of many of them. Which consideration alone will, I hope, sufficiently answer for my deducing our ancient Druidical rites of worship and other appurtenances of religion (we being proved to be the descendants of Gomer) from the very rites and usages the said Gomer then

I have been the more particular in this account of Noah's being in the public capacities of father, prince, priest and prophet, in relation to all mankind at the time of this dispersion, that the reader may thereby see what a fair way, upon a supposal of a total deletion of the first language, excepting in the house and family of Heber, was opened under these peculiar circumstances to many neighbouring families to recover by their intercourse with this what they had lost in their own.

then received and practised; and so were by him carefully consigned over and delivered to his posterity.

THIRDLY, To come now to particulars: This act of dispersion now beginning to exert itself, we find the united tribes and families, having got them new ways of speaking, and thereby establishing to themselves forms and plans of government, betook themselves into various parts and quarters of the world, under several heads and rulers, whom they then or soon after called kings and princes. The particulars whereof you will find recorded by way of anticipation, as many of the Mosaic accounts are, in the tenth chapter of Genesis; where the divisions of the first post diluvian families are noted and distinguished, every one according to their tongues, according to their families, and in their nations. And there too, to come to the subject of my enquiry, we find the sons of Japheth to have taken to their allotments the isles of the Gentiles, which are reckoned by all authors to be Europe and the maritime parts of Asia.

Now among the sons of Japheth, it is generally allowed (and there are great authorities for it) that Gomer was the founder of that nation out of whom the Gauls and Britons descended. But to trace the progression of that people, whom authors call *Gomaritæ* and their tongue *Gomarian*, to these parts of Europe, has been a task that puzzled all antiquity, till the great learning, indefatigable labour, and extraordinary judgment of the late ever celebrated person, Monsieur Pezron, D. D. abbot of La Charmoye in France, discovered such tracks and footsteps of it, even through the remotest times, that to me his accounts seem liable to so few exceptions, that I see not how any one can but acquiesce in them; abating one error, as I take it, or rather omission, that runs through the whole file of his disquisitions—and that is, his making no distinction between the first * planting age, wherein people were only bent on procreation (polygamy for that end being allowed) and were chiefly employed in clearing and cultivating the face of the earth, and sending colonies far and wide to possess and inhabit it; and the bustling warlike age, if I may so call it, that succeeded that first one, wherein ambition and desire of sovereignty and empire had room and opportunity from the then great increase of mankind to exert and display itself; people in their first peragrations being busied and wholly taken up with toil and industry, the earth and richest countries

* *Ætas Auræ, apud Antiquos.*

of it by that time being an overgrown wilderness, and nothing in their passing onwards to be contested with but rivers, mountains, woods, and wild beasts. Thus I conceived, and this I have set down in the preceding Essays; that the progeny of Japheth, viz. some of these Gomarians at the first dispersion began to move westward; and the first swarms of them, the Heneti (the most ancient colonies or first planters, as the word *Hen* imports, and which gives some hint of their language) might arrive in Europe, and so come to Germany, Gaul and Britain, even before the *ruffing* age began, wherein the learned Pezron places the æra and first date of his accounts, &c. And indeed he owns as much, by his representing most of his Titan expeditions, rather as conquering than colonizing and planting. Nay, the very state and condition of nature at that time speak as much; and these circumstances of the state of nature and condition of things, in computing the progression of mankind, are to be consulted, as well as, if not more than the short hints which the uncertain tradition of the next tumultuous age delivered over to the records of future times, which all know to have been very fabulous and erroneous. Yet for all this, an universal consent and tradition among a people, shewing out of what stock they descended, may be well depended on, though history may fail in accounting for the way and manner of that progression.

This learned Briton, in his lately published book of the Antiquities of Nations, observes from the earliest hints of history that those mentioned Gomarians seated themselves in the provinces between Media and the Caspian sea, that is, in Hircania, Margiana, and Bactriana; and that they were the ancestors of the Gauls; and by reason of their dispossessing the former inhabitants, the Medes, they have had by those expelled people the name of *Sacæ* given them, that is, *pillagers* and *robbers*; and these, in compensation for that, gave the Medes or the men they drove out the name of *Partbians*, from the Celtic word *Partbu*, viz. to *divide* and *separate*. Here the Gomarians take the name of *Sacæ* or *Sac's*, and their language from this time came for a while to be called *Sacick*; and a branch of these, mixing with the Teutons, came in process of time to be called Saxons; which is the reason that so many English words in this table do favour of the original tongue, (which I have shewed before had a great deal of it in the Gomarian family) and have their place in the said table.

The author further shews, how a great colony of these *Sac's* made an irruption under one Achmon their prince into Cappadocia, and other
parts

parts of Lower Asia, bordering on the Euxine sea; and after that another colony of them made incursions to the North part of Asia, and over to Europe by the Palus Mæotidis, who took on them the name of Cimbrians or Cimmerians, and their language from Tuisco their leader came to be called Teutonic. Hence the agreement of many Teutonic words with the ancient Celtic. But that great colony that overspread a great part of Lower Asia, went under the name of Titans, from a Gaulish compound, *tud* earth, and *tan* or *tanu*, spreading, viz. an over-spreading people; and from their invincible prowess they had, by way of character, the attribute of Celtæ or Galli, from Gallu or power, given to them; and thence their language was called Celtic or Gallic, as it has ever since continued to be, in the main branch of this people: For our calling it here British, is but by way of national distinction; it being one and the same, even to the time of Julius Cæsar, in Gaul and Britain, abating the diversity of idioms and dialects.

This great and warlike nation, now called Titans, having spread themselves over all the Lower Asia, even to the Mediterranean sea, began *there* to lay down the foundation of their vast empire, which by their succeeding princes, Achmon, Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Dis, Hercules, &c. they extended over the greatest part of Europe; and these names being all Celtic, as you may see in the seventh section of the first Essay *, sufficiently prove their being of the same language with us. And when Uranus had passed the sea into Greece and Italy, in order to enlarge his conquest over these western parts of Europe, Dr. Pezron expressly says, “ That all that could not be done without transporting colonies thither to manure the ground, and to keep the ancient inhabitants under subjection;” which evidently implies, as indeed the name of conquest will, which he frequently makes use of in his account of this Titan expedition, that the countries they subdued had been long before † inhabited. And so we see that history, on which he only relies, is defective in the point of our first planting; and beyond history what can we have but conjectures?

I cannot omit here one observation in relation to the first planting of Greece and Italy. We find on this side of the Mediterranean, in the very first ages history can inform us of, great variety of tongues and dialects; whereas on the Asian side, there appear to have been but few in number, but these largely extended. No other cause, I think, can be as-

* See note p. 42, 43. † Vide Pezr. Antiq. p. 102. & p. 129.

signed for this, but the abundance of isles in that sea, between Anatolia and Europe; whereunto those religious vagrants being got, settled in them for some time; and thereby having but little commerce at first with one another, their common language might, by the different improvements they made in augmenting and polishing their way of speaking, in every isle by itself, be diversified into numerous dialects; and they, or colonies from them, entering first into Greece and Italy, did likewise leave in those countries lasting marks of that diversity in the several idioms of them.

In the isle of Creta, now Candia, one of the largest of them, we find they had a large colony, and seemed to have dedicated it, as they after did the Isle of Mona with us, as a sacred place to the use of religion. Here their priests and soothsayers resided; whom (as we called ours Druids, probably from *Dír-wyr*, i. e. *most necessary men*, so) they called *Kuprías*, *Curetes*, as probably from *Gwyr-rhaid*; both coming under one and the same signification, that is, *men of most necessary use and importance*, as priests and religionists in all ages were accounted to be. These *Curetes* took care of what belonged to the rites of sacrifice, and the worship of the gods. To these the care of the education of princes was entrusted; Jupiter being in his youth committed to their charge. They were in great respect with the Aborigines of Italy, where they were called *Salians*. They recorded, as the *Bards* with us, the heroic actions of princes in rhythmical compositions; which in Italy they called *Carmina Saliaria* or *Versus Saturnii*, as Varro and Festus write. Whatever related to war, laws and religion, was mostly contained in those songs; which generally were of great difficulty to be understood by the Latins, because, as Pezron observes, they contained in them many Celtic words. This being a place of learning in the earliest ages of the world, they called here their oldest inhabitants, *Eteo-Cretans*, who must be the first planters of the island before these Titans ever came into it.

Having brought this Gomarian, Sacic and Celtic tongue within the confines of Europe; we shall now shew what advances it made, and what mixtures it underwent, during the reign of these Titans, and after the dissolution of their government.

FIRST, We may observe that these Titans lorded it over Europe, for a considerable time, during the reigns of five or six princes; and extended their empire to the furthest bounds of it, North and West. And if other tongues which were not the offsprings of the old Gomarian

rian were then in any parts of it, we may well suppose the prevailing Celtic, in that docile age, to have had potent influence on them to mould them in a great measure to its own forms and idioms, having so long a time to work them into it.

SECONDLY, After the breaking up of the Titan government, which, being one in itself, united the various Gomarian dialects under one common name of Celtic; this Celtic, upon the erection of new kingdoms and governments in all the provinces of that fallen empire, took likewise on it new names, after the denominations of the several sets of people then combining together under several politics and establishments. In the northern parts of Europe the Celto-Scythians; in Greece, before the time of Deucalion and his son Hellenus, the Ionians, the Dorians, the Æolians, (the Achæians in Thessaly) the Spartans, the Læconians, the Argians, the Arcadians and the Messenians; each of these took up new names to their dialects, which afterwards were in Greece comprised under these four, viz. the Attic, Ionic, Doric, Æolic. In Italy, the Ausonians, the Umbrians, the Oenotrians, the Hetruscans, the Ofci, the Sabines, the Ligurians, and the Latians or Latins, who in the end swallowed all, gave each of them their names to their proper dialects. In Spain it continued to be called Celtiberian for some time; and then came to be called Cantabrian, with some dialects under it. And in Gaul it was generally called Gallic, as in Britain, British; for in these countries the former and the latter Celts, as to the main body of them, had fixed their station. Ireland indeed in ancient times was scarce taken notice of; but we find its language to be a mixture of British, Cantabrian and Teuton: Its first tongue we presume was British; but by reason of great colonies sent thither from Spain and Belgium, it coalesced with those tongues, and came to be what we now call the Irish or old Scottish. To conclude,

As we, the remains of the British nation, who have sole interest in the honour of this ancient Celtic tongue, are for ever obliged to that great light of our British antiquities, the learned Pezron, for his extraordinary pains and industry in tracing out from the best historical evidences the age could afford the first rise and progress of our nation and language, and for his consummate skill and judgment, in giving us a true light and an agreeable view of our origin in that excellent book of his lately published in French and now translated into English, which assuredly well deserves the perusal of every one that knows how to value the antiquities of his nation and language; so we ought to be no less grateful to the

the memory of the late exquisitely learned and judicious Mr. *Edward Lbwyd*, keeper of the *Museum Ashmoleanum* at Oxford, for his indefatigable labour in collecting and digesting the scattered remnants of this ancient celebrated language; but more especially for the greatest piece of service in that particular, (for ought I know) that has been yet done to the lettered world; I mean that excellent work, his *Comparative Etymology*. In which he not only rescues etymology, or that part of learning which is so necessary to the tracing of the origin of nations and languages, from the too common contempt that was thrown upon it, as being but trifling and frivolous, which some inconsiderate authors by trifling with it had made it seem to be; but also lays down *there* such undeniable rules, seconded and exemplified by multitudes of parallel instances, for the more easy finding out the affinity of sounds, which are observed in the various tongues of Europe, though by different pronunciation in different countries a little disguised and altered; and by so reconciling that difference, has made it appear, from what we in our British tongue have retained of the ancient Celtic, that they are but dialects of *that one* once common language; though by their various mixtures with one another, by adding and subtracting syllables to refine and polish, and other accidental occurrences, we find them so disguised and altered, as to appear widely estranged, and to be accounted, by such as consider not the rules of etymology, and thereby the way of reconciling them, very different languages, when indeed they are but the issues of one common origin.

These two now mentioned gentlemen, having by different methods opened a way of resolving diverse tongues in Europe to one mother-language, which language indeed Mr. *Lbwyd* leaves modestly undecided, but by Monsieur *Pezron* is determined to be the Celtic; I hoped my pains would not be ill spent, if I endeavoured by the demonstration of this table to mount it one step higher; that is, to resolve that (our first distinguished Gomarian) into the very original and fountain-head of all, the most ancient patriarchal Hebrew tongue. For to evince that, here are no less in this table than three hundred words of that patriarchal language, to which our derivatives, in the tongues I account for, carry in their sound an easy unconstrained congruity and coherence. And of these three hundred Hebrew words, more than half that number answer our present British sounds, as near as can be expected at so remote a distance both of time and place. And indeed had I allowed myself the latitude which Mr. *Lbwyd* in his *Comparative Etymology*

gives, and he justifies and confirms it by many examples, I think I might, as to the British, have doubled the number; for I meddled not with sounds transposed, reversed or mutilated, of which there are good plenty, but of such only as answered fully, and came to an easy congruity (allowing only, as I premise in the foregoing rule, the organical permutation of letters) with these Hebrew sounds. So that on the whole matter, if the Hebrew tongue was the language of Noah and his sons before the confusion, and consequently of Heber; and if Gomer and Javan after that confusion incorporated a great deal of it into the particular languages of their families, or rather recovered and built the structure of their speech upon it, and then called it Gomarian and Jaonian, as very good authorities avouch they did; and if the Gomarian and Jaonian or Jonic were the original of the Celtic as Monsieur Pezron very well proves they were; and if that ancient Celtic was the mother of the Greek, Latin, English, Gaulish, and British, as he likewise makes out beyond reasonable denial; then the result of my propositions fairly determines in this issue, viz. that the British tongue, having more of that original language in it than all the rest together, may merit the esteem of being reckoned the most ancient and least corrupted language in this western part of the world; which is what deserves our notice, and what I think sufficient to say on this head.

Concerning our SAVIOUR'S MEDAL.

HAVING only mentioned this piece of antiquity in the ninth section of the first Essay, as being found among the rubbish of an old circular entrenchment, called *Bryn-Gwyn*, in the middle of the township of *Tre'r-Dryw*, and there made use of it to confirm my conjecture of that place's being the *Forum* or tribunal of the ancient Druids, I shall here add some further account of it.

I had caused some figures of it to be delineated in rundles on paper, and writ the Hebrew inscription on the reverses of them with my interpretation of it; and having sent one of them to my late worthy friend, Mr. *Edward Lbwyd*, then at Oxford, desiring him to consult some friends there who were versed in the antiquities of that language about it, he returned me the answer he had from Dr. Crossthwait of Queen's college, which was thus:

S I R,

AS to the brass Medal, bearing our Saviour's image, with a Hebrew inscription; I have this to say,

FIRST, That I take this to be the inscription, viz. *Yeshuab gibbor Meschiab havab v' Adam joked*; that is, "Jesus is and was the mighty and great Messias, or Man-Mediator or Reconciler." That which I read *Havab*, the gentleman reads *Hazab*; it is true, there is such a word as *Hazab*, which signifies *Stertit*, *Quievit*, which signification can have no place here; and therefore there must be a mistake, either in the inscription itself, or in the transcribing it; the *Zain* should have been a *Vau*.

We have two learned orientalists, Hottinger and Waferus; the first has writ, *De Nummis Orientalium*; the second, *De Nummis Hebræorum*. The first says, p. 148, *Nummi certe quotquot, indubie Hebraicos agnoscimus, Urnam & Virgam ostendunt: sunt insuper Nummi qui referunt Arcem Zionis*: He says also, p. 149, *Habentur etiam hinc inde aurei & argentei Nummi, cum inscriptione ex unâ parte* *יְשׁוּעָה* *Yeshu*, *ex alterâ verò, &c.* *מָלֵךְ מְשִׁיחָה*, that is, *Messias Rex venit in pace, vel Deus homo factus est*.

The Syrians always called our Saviour *Yeshu*, cutting off the letter *y Ain*, because of the difficulty of pronouncing it; and the Greeks imitating them, adding only an *s* to it, called him *Ιησους*. And therefore I cannot believe that any ancient inscription has *Yeshuab* or *Yeshuang*, tho' it be a Biblical word; it is probable that the inscription would run in the Syrian language, which is *Yeshu*; and this makes me suspect the inscription to be of later date.

The second, viz. Waferus, *De Nummis Hebræorum*, p. 62, has these words, *His literis Samaritanis aeneos aliquot Nummos, Julii secundi & Leonis decimi pontificum temporibus Romæ se vidisse Theseus Ambrosius testatur, in introductione in Linguam Chaldaicam*; which Samaritan characters he expresses by Hebrew letters; and it is the same inscription with that of Hottinger, which I have mentioned above, p. 149.

Waferus adds this further, fol. 63, *Neque hoc silentio transmitti debet, viz. Imaginem Domini quâ nummo illo nostro exprimitur, ad eam descriptionem esse designatum, quam Lentulus civis Romanus & Judæorum olim præses, ad imperatorem Tiberium misisse vulgò perhibetur, quam ait vultu placido, venusto & subrubicundo fuisse, capillos habuisse colori bene maturæ nucis avellanæ similes, planos & integros ad aures usque, inde crispas nonnihil ad humeros usque: vertice verò divisos Nazarenorum ritu: fronte fuisse planâ & fulgidâ, oculis glaucis & micantibus, naso & ore decoro & prorsus ἀμύμων, barbâ capillis simili, baud prolixa, ac bifidatâ.*

Thesius

Theseus Ambrosius says he saw a brass Medal of our Saviour with the inscription mentioned above in the time of Julius II. and Leo X. that about the years 1503. and 1512.

This is the first time that I met with a brass Medal of our Saviour. What was the face of our Saviour, or of St. Paul, or of the Virgin Mary, no man knows, if you will believe St. Austin, Lib. De Trinit. c. 4. where he says, *Ipsius Dominice carnis facies innumerabilium cognitionum diversitate variatur*, & c. 5. *utrum illa facies Mariæ fuerit quæ currit animo, cum ista loquimur, nec novimus omnino, nec credimus; & si facie fuerit Sanctus Paulus penitus ignoramus*. From Dr. Crosthwait.

This was returned in answer to it.

S I R,

AS to the brass Medal, a figure of which I have formerly sent you, the account which Dr. Crosthwait gives (and which you sent me) of it, I must beg leave to dissent from in some particulars.

FIRST, He mistakes my reading the fourth word of the inscription. I read it not *Hazab*, as a verb, but *Zab*, i. e. *Ille* or *Ipsè*, as a pronoun in *ba* *Emphatico*, that is, *Meschiab bazeb, vel ipse Messias est*, as the Doctor may find it in several places; particularly in Isaiah, chapter the eighth and the sixth verse, and in chapter the twenty-ninth and thirteenth verse, where *Haam, Hazab*, i. e. *Populus ille*, is twice repeated. Being so taken, I presume there will be no need of reading it *Havab*, i. e. *est*; the very inscription, in which there appears no cause to suspect mistake, having the letter *Zain* in that word, the plainest of all the letters, as you will find when the coin, which I shall shortly send, comes to you.

SECONDLY, He seems dissident of the antiquity of it, because the letter *V Ain* is retained in the word *Jesebuab*; which letter the Syrians (says he) always cut off from the word *Jeschuang* or *Jesebuab* for the difficulty of pronouncing it, and pronounced it *Jesu*.

It is indeed observed by Schindler and others, that the Jews in those countries, not all the Syrians, as the Doctor says, did usually cut off the letter *Ain*, *ob difficultatem pronunciationis*. But pronouncing and writing are quite different things; and what is very difficultly pronounced, may be easily written, as upon this Medal. But withal, these authors observe a much greater reason inclining the Jews to do so, viz. because *Jeschuang* was a word derived from *Jaschang, salvavit*, and the Jews no means allowing him to be a Saviour, would not call him *Yeshu*.

Q q 2

Jes-

Jeschuang, but יהושע *Jesu*, a name they ignominiously fixed upon him, not from *Jeschuang* neither, which they utterly rejected, but by their rule of *Rafe Tebot*, from certain words in their language importing, *Pereat nomen ejus & memoria*, the first letters of which three words in Hebrew make up יהושע *Jeschu*, by which name and in which sense, they so called him.

Now, I say, if the Jews cut off the letter *y*, and curtailed his name because derived from ישוע *Jeschang*, *salvare*, we may therefore well expect that the Christians in those countries, who did acknowledge him a Saviour, did not, for that very reason, cut it off, but retained it; especially if we consider their obligation thereunto, the angel, Matth. i. 21. expressly commanding it, *Vocabis nomen ejus ישוע*, as the Syriac version itself, which is very remarkable, renders it. And that version being the proper dialect of the Syrian Christians, and expressing his name with the *Ain*, I take it to be no mean argument of the Christians' retaining it. And I find some of the more moderate Jews, as Abrahanel upon the fifty-second of Isaiah, Auctor Zemach and others, express him ישוע *Jeschuang*, and the Arabs call him يسوع *Jasong*, with the *Ain* in it; nay, Sanctus Pagninus observes in his Tract of Hebrew Names, that on the piece of the title of the cross, to this day kept at Rome (*Romæ fiqua fides*) as a sacred relic, our Saviour's name thereon is found written ישוע *Jeschuang*, as it is on this Medal.

If these things I produce be of any weight, and it being so, that this Medal of our blessed Saviour bears not a Jewish but a Christian inscription upon it, I then humbly conceive it may be of very ancient date, if not from the time of his being on earth; and that the letter *y* *Ain* the Doctor excepts against, can be no just exception to the antiquity of it. That of St. Austin is nothing to the purpose, speaking only there of ideas and mental conceptions, and not of any images of Christ, St. Paul, or the Virgin Mary in picture or sculpture.

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

Henry Rowlands.

This medal was accordingly sent to Oxford, but by the carelessness of the bearer it was lost on the way. [It seems to have been of the same sort with that exhibited by Morinus de *Ling. primæ*. c. ix. p. 305. n. xii. and by Wagenkil in *Sota* ap. Surenhus, Tom. iii. p. 239. And if so, the true reading is—*Jeshuab Nazari Meshiah, Jeshuab in Adam jachad*, i. e. *Jesu Nazarenus Messias, Deus in homine simul*. And then it must be acknowledged to have been of much later date than our author supposes; and of little or no account.

A N

A N

ETYMOLOGY of BRITISH NAMES,

ANSWERING

A QUERE about the DERIVATION of some of them.

S I R,

Feb. 5, 1702.

I N order to return you what answer at present occurs, as to those British names you particularized in your last (for as for some other names you hinted before, they are perhaps now inexplicable) I shall observe,

FIRST, That our British ancestors, in imitation of other nations, or rather by the usual practice of those warlike times, generally affected names, which noted some special characters of eminency and heroic virtue; as for example, of principality and conduct, of fortitude and courage, of hardiness and resolution, of success and victory; and sometimes of the quality of their armour and way of fighting. This it seems they made choice of, to animate men to answer those characters, and to make good what their names imported; and the women generally had theirs from some excelling characters of colour, comeliness, or beauty.

SECONDLY, That their way of expressing those warlike virtues was frequently by the names of such things, wherein those virtues were most eminently visible, as lion, bear, wolf, &c. or were performed by, as head, hand, horse, chariot, steel, iron, &c.

Cyn.] Hence I take it that *Cyn*, properly Head—metaphorically, First, Chief, or Prince—hath been used as initial and terminative of many British names.

Mael.] That *Mael*, properly steel; metaphorically, hardness, armour:

Orcb.] That *Orcb* or *Oruch*, eminent or supreme:

Haiarn.] That *Haiarn*, metaphorically, strength:

Cdd.] That *Cdd*, i. e. army:

Gwg.] That *Gwg*, metaphorically, fierceness, anger:

Dewr.] That *Dewr*, valiant:

Car.

Car and *Rbôd*.] That *Car* and *Rbôd*, i. e. fighting-chariots, have been frequently by the ancient Britons taken up into the names of men. As thus,

- | | | |
|----------------------|--|---|
| | | <i>Cyn-Fael</i> , backwards <i>Mael-Gyn</i> , armourer, or wearer of armour. Lat. <i>Vulcanus</i> . |
| | | <i>Cyn-Felyn</i> , yellow-head. |
| 1. <i>Cyn</i> , - - | | <i>Cyn-Frig</i> , taller by the head. |
| | | <i>Cyn-Edda</i> : <i>Cyn-Illin</i> . |
| | | <i>Cyn-Ddelw</i> : <i>Cyn-Llyw</i> . |
| | | <i>Cyn-An</i> , &c. |
| | | <i>Artb-Fael</i> , backwards <i>Mael-Artb</i> . |
| | | <i>Dyg-Fael</i> or <i>Dû-wg-Fael</i> , backward <i>Maelwg</i> or <i>Maelog</i> .
<i>Llanfaelog</i> . |
| | | <i>Mael-Dewr</i> , backward <i>Dewr-Fael</i> or <i>Derfail</i> . |
| | | <i>Mael-Hir</i> or <i>Meilir</i> . |
| | | <i>Breich-Fael</i> or <i>Brych-Fael</i> , i. e. <i>Clypeatus</i> . |
| | | <i>Tyd-Fael</i> or <i>Tyd-Dur</i> , i. e. <i>Torquatus</i> . |
| 2. <i>Mael</i> , - - | | <i>Cad-Fael</i> or <i>Cad-Fael-Hyder</i> , i. e. <i>Cadwaladr</i> . |
| | | <i>Hy-Fael</i> or <i>Howel</i> , i. e. boldly armed. |
| | | <i>Teg-Fael</i> , fairly armed. |
| | | <i>Di-ofn-Fael</i> or <i>Dyfnwal</i> . |
| | | <i>Dunwallo Moelmutius</i> , and <i>Carreg Ddyfnwal</i> in Anglesey. |
| | | <i>Caran-Fael</i> , a charioteer, or armed for that way of fighting. |
| | | <i>Ffer-Mael</i> , fenced with iron and steel armour. |

Note, that what we called *Mael* was expressed by other nations *Hard* or *Hardy*: hence,

Hardmannus,
Hardicnute,
Wolfbardus,
Leonbardus,
Bearnbardus,
Borchardus,
Everbardus,
Gebbardus,
Reinbardus,
Winbardus,
Sigebardus,
Richardus,
Edobardus, &c.

See more of the names of this composition in *Wolfgangius Lazius* and *Jordanes's* histories.

And

And probably the Latin *Miles* may come from the Celtic *Mael-wr* or *Milwr*, no other etymology answering so properly to it.

3. *Llew*, - - *Llew-Eulyn*, lion-like, i. e. *Llewelyn*.
4. *Blaid*, - - *Blaid-Ddyn*, wolf-like, i. e. *Bleddyn*.
5. *Orch* or *Oruch* { *Llyw-Orch*, from *Llywydd* and *Orch*, i. e. *Llywarch*,
chief-governor: hence probably the Latin *Hercules*
or *Oruch-Hyll*, now *Erchyll*, horrid.
Rbôd-Orch, from *Rbôd* and *Orch*, i. e. *Rbydderch*, chief-
charioteer.

Hence perhaps many Gallic words have their terminations in *Orix*, which we know was ever pronounced by the natives *Orich*, as *Dumnorix*, *Ombiorix*, *Orgetorix*, *Cyngetorix*.

6. *Haiarn*, - { *Taro-Haiarn* or *Trabaiarn*, i. e. iron-stroke or iron-arm.
Gwytbeu-Haiarn or *Gwetbeirn*, i. e. iron-finewed or
valiant..
7. *Rbôd*, - { *Anaf-Rod*, *Cad-Rod*, *Med-Rôd*, &c.: common British
names of old..
8. *Car*, - - { *Cyn-Gar*, captain of a train of chariots..
Car-Onwy, *Gronwy*.
Car-Addog, i. e. *Careiddog*: *Plaustrarius*..
Car-Fan, *Llan-Garfan*.
9. *Gwg* or *wg*, { *Mad-wg*, i. e. *Madog*: *Gwg-Gyn*, i. e. *Gwgan*..
Cad-wg-Gyn, i. e. *Cadwgan*, &c..

If it be objected, that the word *Mael*, as betokening steel or armour, may be thought incongruous to the British nation, because authors generally account of them as a naked sort of people, caring little for guarding their bodies with armour; it may to that be replied, that though the generality of them had not armour, yet some had. And besides, by classing the British names into certain periods of time, we find that most of those names retaining the word *Mael* in their composition were used since the Roman conquest; in which times the Britons wore armour, which probably they called *Mael*; from whence the Saxons might, as they did several other things, borrow the word *Mael* or *Coat of Mail*. And *Mael* is undoubtedly the ancient British word for steel.

steel or iron, of which Dr. Davies gives some instances. And the *Metonymy* of it, in that sense, is frequently used in other languages.

I find also *Mael*, *Maelio*, used for gain, profit, and possibly for conquest, in our tongue. And our extent-book makes mention of *Gwyr-Mael*, belonging to our Welsh princes in their several *Manors* and *Cantrefi*. But because I find that most part of the British names which begin or end in *Mael*, are only applicable to the word in that sense, I was willing to apply it to steel or armour. Yet I will not contend for the certainty of it, but take it only for probable, as I do of the other names I have accounted for, till a better etymology of them be offered.

Indeed, names owe their etymons to so many languages, that it is not possible to account for them from any one tongue, though ever so ancient. Tacitus mentions one Catvalda, a prince of the Suevi, in the reign of Tiberius, whom Wolfgangius Lazius calls *Cadwalder* in the language, he says, of that country; and yet we take the name to be wholly British. But perhaps you'll say the Suevi were neighbours to the Rhætian and Norican Gauls, and thereby might borrow that name from the Gauls, and consequently the Gauls and the Britons being originally one nation, the name might become common among them; which, I confess, is very probable.

The same reason may be given for Catamelus, a petty prince of the Carni, and Hymelus, of the Marcomani or the ancient Danes; both which names may seem, by that rule of promiscuously using letters of one organ, to answer our names of *Cad-Fael* and *Hy-Fael*, that is, *Howel*; which shews that one tongue can never answer in itself for all the names of it.

Besides, it is to be observed, that in the original variation of languages, words betokening things of general concernment, have retained much of their primitive sound in the divided tongues or dialects; of which there are abundance of instances. But here I shall be particular only in one or two. First, מַלְכָּא *Mare*, lord or potentate; and such the Gauls call *Mawr*, and some of the German dialects call *Mayr*. Hence it is that many proper names among the Gauls terminate in *Marus*, viz. *Vadomarus*, *Chondomarus*, *Suemarkus*, &c. And in *Myrus* among the Northern nations, as *Widimyrus*, *Balamyrus*, *Theodomyrus*, &c. Hence very probably the Latin *Mavors* or *Mars*, one of the Titan potentates.

To the same purpose, secondly, the Hebrew word רַחַב * *Rachab*, i. e. great and powerful, was perhaps retained in the Celtic, and applied in naming their great ones by the Gauls and Britons with the sound *Oreb* or *Oruch*, as before instanced; and by the Teutons or Germans with *Rick* or *Rich*, as *Uldrich*, *Ketrich*, *Hunrich* or *Henrich*, and *Hymelrich*; the former expressing by it Eminency and Greatness, and the latter Wealth and Power.

By this way we may give a reason of the agreement of names in several languages, when some part of their composition are original sounds without engrossing all to any one of them; and the want of this consideration hath inclined some people to reckon too much on their own language, and perplexed antiquity with very gross mistakes.

I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

H. R.

The ANSWER to the foregoing LETTER.

S I R,

I Return you most humble thanks for yours of Feb. 5. I am so much satisfied with your observations about our British names, that I have no objections to offer; but recommend the same to your farther improvement, at your leisure, in other examples, which our old pedigrees may abundantly supply you with. And I am so much the more bold herein, because I design to consider that subject in the first book of the *Archæologia*.—I thank you for your note about Catvalda, prince of the Suevi, and Catamelus and Hymelus. Not only the Latin but also the Northern *M* was, we may safely conclude, equivalent to our *F*, *V* or *W*. And we, as the Irish do still, used either *M* or *B* where we now use *F*, &c. till about the time of the Norman conquest. That the Teutonic *M* and our (modern) *F* are the same, appears from divers words. Thus their *summer* (which I know would startle some philologers) is undoubtedly the same word with our *baf*; for in old Irish parchments, I find it written *Samb*, and their modern word is

* Hence probably the Greek ἀρχος and ἀρχων for chief and principal; and the Irish *Arach* for strength and power, had also their derivation.

Sambredb. As for our using the *H* in the beginning of such words as the Teutonic languages and the Latin begin with an *S*, we agree therein with the Greeks and Spaniards. I know not whether any critic has offered any reason for this diversity in reference to the Greek and Latin languages, wherein it is vulgarly known, as *tu, femi; urig, super; uros, sal, &c.* But from the Irish language we may plainly see, how we and the Spaniards came by that pronunciation; viz. from our ancient custom of varying the initial letters. For the Irish do not only vary those initial letters that we do, but also change their initial *F, S* and *T* into *H*; *D* into *G*; and *G* into *Gh*. Thus *Sathadb* is the Irish word for thrusting; *do bathadb. se*, he did thrust. *Saladb*, to defile; *do baluidh tu*, thou hast defiled. *Sarruadh*, to oppress; *ni baireocha tu*, thou shalt not oppress. So, *sean*, old; *Jeaboe*, a hawk; *fiog*, a willow-tree; *fiol*, seed; *salen*, salt; *Jeieb*, a swarm, &c. must, as the syntax requires, be pronounced sometimes *bean*, *beavok*, *bilog*, *bil*, *balen*, and *beith*. And as the Teutonic *summer* is the same with our *baf*, so is their Saxon *breompsa* or *wild garlick* (now *ramsons*) the same with our *cras*. For we are to note, that the old Teutons pronouncing the initial *C* very gutturally, as we of North-Wales and the Armoric-Britons do still, did by degrees soften it to an *H*, as the South-Wales men now do, who say, *bwain*, *bware*, *bwilio*, *bwertbin*, &c. for *chwain*, *chware*, &c. When I speak of barbarous nations altering their letters, I mean only such potestates as we now ascribe to those letters; for I am satisfied that all such-like variations came by the ear of the multitude, and not from writing, which very few, if any at all, understood. This variation of *C* into *H*, seems to me manifest from these following and such-like examples: Sax. *baenep* (now *bemp*) *cannabis*: Sax. *beafod* (now *bead*) *caput*. Horn, *cornu*; hart, *cervus*; heart, *cor*; hose, *caneu*; hund, *canis*; hus or house, called by the Italians *casa*; *hwa* (now *who*) *qui*; what, *quid*: Sax. *baegel*, a cycle; a hundred (by the Cantabrians or old Spaniards, *ebun*) *centum*, &c. From these and other such-like observations it appears to me, that all our neighbouring tongues might be demonstrated to be of one origin; as for the Slavonian and others more remote, I have no knowledge of them, and so can say nothing.

I am not averse to publish in this first book of *Archæologia Britannica*, such a collation of the principal words of the several British dialects, as you recommend; but the Irish would fall much short of the rest. And I know not whether the large Irish and the Cornish vocabulary,

cabulary, I have made for this tome, together with grammatical observations about their agreement with our British, may not in great measure answer the ends you propose. In your next be pleased to insert your notion of the use of such an index, more at large, that I may farther consider of it.

I suppose your friend that paralleled the British words with the Irish was Mr. E. F. who has been so kind as to impart to me also an alphabetical catalogue of such words, before ever I had any thoughts of the design I am now engaged in. I suppose he has made large improvements since. And indeed it seems to me that the Irish have in a great measure kept up two languages; the old British, and the Scottish which they brought with them from Spain. For notwithstanding their histories (as those of the origin of other nations) be involved in fables; that there came a Spanish colony into Ireland, is very manifest from a comparison of the Irish tongue partly with the modern Spanish, but especially with the Cantabrian or Basque. And this should invite us to have something of more regard than we usually have to such fabulous histories. They have also, I think, a greater allay of the Teutonic than we: as *sneacht*, snow; *derbadus*, darkness; *folamb* (or *bolau*) hollow; *bir* and *burn*, brook and water, &c. &c.

I have as yet had but little time for the perusal of your Antiquities of Anglesey. I shall ever remain sensible of my obligations for your communicating a piece which seems worth all I have hitherto met with.

I am, Sir, your obliged servant.

Yours entirely,

Edward Lhwyd

Another LETTER, concerning the easy finding out the Isle of ANGLESEY by the Ancient GREEKS.

SIR,

IN answer to yours — I have this to say, that neither the Island of Mona, nor many other of the British isles, were utterly unknown to the inquisitive Greeks in very early times. And that will appear if we consider these particulars.

FIRST, That the Titan empire, of which Greece was a member, and the capital residence of their princes on this side of the Mediterranean, made quick and large conquests of many countries and islands to the westward, as Dr. Pezron, you know, has very learnedly proved; who therefore, no doubt, made use of and encouraged navigation and shipping (the use whereof is as ancient as Noah's ark) to find out unconquered places. And hence it is, that they tell us of their Neptune, Tritons, and Argonauts, who undoubtedly were their sea-commanders in those expeditions; and though sufficiently fabulized by their subsequent poets, yet the very names of them, as I have intimated in one of my late letters, being Celtic, and by the most accountable etymology, implying *sea-faring men*, do discover some foundation of truth in those relations, though in their way of delivering them they appear ever so wild and romantic.

SECONDLY, Their way of sailing to the western British isles was very plain and easy; for if you look on the map of Europe, you will find that the Straights mouth bears near due West to the coasts of Greece. And when they sail ten or twenty leagues straight to the ocean, beyond the coasts of Spain, their sailing thence on a rumb directly North unavoidably brings them to the coast of Ireland and to the Irish channel, wherein this Isle of Mona is seated.

Give me leave to expatiate here on the way of sailing used by the ancients. We must not think that, because they wanted the compass, they durst not launch out of the sight of land; it is a vulgar error. Altho' that noble invention was but lately discovered, yet we are sure many expert seamen of old made great and successful voyages. If they had not the north-pointing needle, they had the north-pole star (far more steady and invariable) to guide them. And not only that, but they had all the other stars in this hemisphere, and together with them the arch of the sun in the day-time, to give them direction. I ever thought that sea-voyages gave the first rise to the observation of the stars, on which astronomy was founded; because in that case men had most need of taking notice of them, and to distinguish them for their particular use; as we find these Titans to have done, either giving them the names of their princes, viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, or of some noted achievements of theirs, as of Argò, Pegasus, Andromeda, &c. under which names, and twenty more, the stars and constellations were familiarly known to them. And as to the matter in hand, I will appeal to any knowing seaman, if the Greeks sailing along the Mediterranean directly

directly West to the Streights mouth, and some way farther, and from thence turning their course directly North; whether their way on those two points, and by these helps only, was not very safe and easy, to arrive at the British and Irish channel. And if easy, we may conclude it was done so. For we are sure that the Phœnicians, who were a branch of these Titans, frequently voyaged here for tin and other commodities, some ages before the Roman conquest; and by that means might bring the Isle of Mona, which they could not miss by coasting the West of Britain, and many things relating to it, to the knowledge of the Greeks, who would not fail, if things appeared singularly desirable in it, to improve their talent of feigning Hesperian Gardens and Elysian Fields to be part of the characters of it.

THIRDLY, I shall apply these considerations to clear the way to a right notion of Plutarch's stories, which I before hinted to you, and particularly of that other in * Diodorus Siculus, which must belong to one of these British isles: for there was no isle of that bigness to the North of Greece which they could communicate with. And when their mariners, who probably brought them that account of it, told them it was a Hyperborean or northern island, it was so, not in respect to Greece, but to the point they began to turn their course at, and to sail northerly. And as to that part of the relation, which says that they could discover mountains in the moon, it was a very antient opinion among the Epicureans. Neither is it impossible, but that the ancients might know the way of forming and combining glasses, (the thing being easy in itself) by the help of which that phenomenon is only discoverable; and if they had it, it is as easy to imagine that they kept it in their Cabala among other secrets, and so might be lost, till later ages found it out again, and by the various application of it enabled those sciences that depend upon it with those wonderful discoveries which the learned in this present age are masters of.

S. I. R.

LONDON

1704

H. R.

* See the fifth section, the latter part of it.

SOME

LETTERS

WHICH PASSED BETWEEN

The Author and the late Mr. EDWARD LHWYD,

(Keeper of the Ashmole Museum in Oxford)

Touching some Things treated of in these ESSAYS, not
improper to be added here.

DEAR SIR,

Oxford, Nov. 1, 1706.

I WAS this summer, for about three or four weeks, at Cambridge, being invited thither by a false title of a manuscript in their late-printed Catalogue, which promised me a map of Britain and Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis; though the book, when consulted, afforded nothing but the out-lines of two islands, with the word Britannia in the midst of one of them, and Hibernia in the other, and the Orchades placed betwixt both, instead of the Hebrides. I had several other manuscripts to consult; but received no great instruction. However, being there, I copied Giraldus's Epistles; and lingered out my time betwixt the public library, that of Bennet-College, and Trinity.

In the public library I happened to meet with a very ancient manuscript of Juvenius, a Spanish priest, who turned the gospel into heroic verse in the time of Constantine. It was written upon very thick parchment, in that character we call the Irish, but was indeed anciently the British, whence both they and the Saxons received it. Turning the leaves over, I observed here and there some words glossed or interpreted by other more familiar Latin words, and sometimes by British; whereby I learned that the Britons pronounced the letter *M* in the midst and at the end of words as we now pronounce *V* consonant; which accounts for the name of *Cadyan* being written *Catamanus* at *Lban Gadwaladr*. I learned several other notes as to their orthography, with the signification of some few words; but I am at a loss to know the British of what country

country it was for it seems so different from ours, that I should rather suspect it either for the language of the Picts, or that of the *Stradcland Britons*; as perhaps you will own upon reading the three following *Englins*, which I found at the top-margin of three successive pages in the midst of the book. [*These Englins be both printed in the letter which he found them written in, and may be seen, with his reading of them, in his Archæologia, p. 221.*]

I have sent it to one Mr. *****, a Shropshire Welshman, and a famous linguist and critic; but he returned me such an interpretation as I shall not now trouble you withal.

Sir, I hope towards the latter end of Spring to begin to print my *Archæologia*; what information you can contribute in the interim (particularly as to ancient customs, &c.) will be very acceptable to,

WORTHY SIR,

Your most obliged humble Servant;

Edward Lhwyd.

DEAR SIR,

Oxford, Dec. 20, 1702.

I RECEIVED your obliging letter of the seventh. I am well satisfied much of your reading is true; but that of Mr. ***** will, I believe, surprize you, as well as it did me, when you see it.—As to the letter Z, it was till of late the only letter the Armoricans and Cornish used both for *dh* and *th*; and a priest of Quemper diocese in Bretagne taught me to read *Brezomec* [*linguâ Armoricanâ*] *Bretbonag*; whereas those of the diocese of St. Paul de Leon, who pretend to be the refiners of the British, had directed me to read, as we should in England, *Brezanek*; but you must know that almost all foreigners pronounce the Z as *ts*. In an old Cornish manuscript I have on parchment, the word for *father* is written *tays*; and so I found it always; but they pronounce their S as we do Z.—I am afraid we shall hear no more of the Hebrew coin, it is now so long since it was lost. I shall long heartily to read your *Archæological Observations*, and am very glad to find you have considered that subject. It is the happiest temper a man can be master of, not to be too tenacious of his conjectures; and I hope I am

not

not of their number who frequently recommend this doctrine, and yet are very indulgent to their own fancies; of which disease I know none more sick than Dr. *****, who makes his hypothesis a demonstration of what Moses (says Mr. Harries) hinted at; and is very much displeased at every one who does not believe it as much as gospel.

Amongst your other Archæological Observations, I should be glad of your thoughts of the signification of British proper names of men and women, *ex. gr.* what the word *Mael*, so common with them, might imply; which was of frequent use with them both in the former and later part of names, as *Maelgwn*, *Cynfael*; *Maldrew*, *Derfael*; *Arthfael*, *Mackarth*; *Brychfael*, *Cadfael*, *Caranfael*, *Dyfnwal*, *Tegfael*, *Tydfael*, *Ffermael*, &c.

I find divers places, whose names are now obscure, named in ancient times from mens proper names; as *T Glwyfsg*, in Denbighshire, from *Elifeg*; *Coed Marchan* near *Ruthyn*, and *Cefn Farchan* in *Caermarthenshire*, from *Marchen*; *Pant y Pol-lion*, in the same county, from *Paulinus*. For I have found monuments of these persons at each of them, the latest whereof, viz. *Elifeg*, was great-grandfather to *Cyngen ap Cadell*, prince of *Powys*, who died about the year 840.

S I R,

Your real Friend, and humble Servant,

Edward Lhwyd.

WORTHY SIR,

Sligo, March 12, 1699-100.

I HAD not been so long silent, but for a reason I have mentioned this post to Mr. Bulkeley; for I was loth to trouble my friends till I had something to say that might seem worth communicating; and indeed one half of my time, since I left you, has been spent in places quite remote from all correspondence, amongst the Hebrides and other highlands of Scotland, with whom their neighbours seem to have less commerce than they have with either of the Indies. They are nothing so barbarous as the Lowlanders and English commonly represent them; but are, for what I could find, a very hospitable and civil people. And the main reasons of their contrary character I take to be their adhering too much to their ancient customs, habit and language; whereby they distinguish

distinguish themselves from all their neighbours; and distinctions always create mutual reflections. I have filled about three sheets of paper with their customs (any or all whereof you may command at your leisure) and have translated Mr. Ray's *Dictionariolum Trilingue* into their language, which in two thirds, or thereabouts, agrees with ours. They have also the same sort of monuments we have, viz. *Caer*, *Carn*, *Cromlech*, and stones pitched on end circularly; agreeing sometimes exactly with ours, and sometimes a little varying from them. But as to the names of places, I know not whether the Lowlands of Scotland may not agree more with the British than the Highlands: as to instance in some names of their rivers.

<i>Airw</i>	-	-	} Seem no other than	<i>Arw</i> , Monmouthshire
<i>Tay</i>	-	-		<i>Tawy</i> , Glamorganshire
<i>Avin</i>	-	-		<i>Afon</i>
<i>Leven</i>	-	-		<i>Lbafeni</i>
<i>Teviot</i>	-	-		<i>Tywod</i>
<i>Twede</i>	-	-		
<i>Ail</i>	-	-		<i>Elwy</i>
<i>Esk</i>	-	-		<i>Wyfk</i>
<i>Klide</i>	-	-		<i>Clwyd</i>
<i>Irwin</i>	-	-		<i>Hirwen</i>
<i>Tow</i>	-	-		<i>Teifi</i>
<i>Nid</i>	-	-		<i>Neddb</i> , Glamorganshire
<i>Douglas</i>	-	-		<i>Dulas</i>

But indeed, most names of places throughout the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland relish much of a British origin; though I suspect that upon a diligent comparison of the languages and customs, we shall find that the antient Scots of Ireland were distinct from the Britons of the same kingdom; but as yet I have not put my notes together, so as to be satisfied herein.

We collected a considerable number of inscriptions in Scotland, and some in this kingdom, both Latin and Irish. But I could meet with no antiquary, hitherto of either country, that could interpret those in the Irish. One monument I met with, within four miles of Edinburgh, different from all I had seen elsewhere, and never observed by their antiquaries. I take it to be the tomb of some Pictish king; though situate by a river-side, remote enough from any church. It is an area of about seven yards diameter, raised a little above the rest of the ground, and en-

compassed with large stones ; all which stones are laid lengthwise, excepting one larger than ordinary, which is pitched on end, and contains this inscription in the barbarous characters of the fourth and fifth centuries, *In oc tumulo jacet Vetta F. Victi*. This the common people call the *Cat-Stone*, whence I suspect the person's name was *Getus*, of which name I find three Pictish kings ; for the names pronounced by the Britons with *G* were written in Latin with *V*, as we find by *Gwyrtheyrn*, *Gwyrtheyr* and *Gwyrthelyn*, which were written in Latin *Vortigernus*, *Vortimerus* and *Vitelinus*. I also met with one monument in this kingdom very singular. It stands at a place called New-Grange near Drogheda ; and is a mount or barrow of very considerable height, encompassed with vast stones pitched on end round the bottom of it ; and having another lesser standing on the top. This mount is all the work of hands, and consists almost wholly of stones ; but is covered with gravel and green sward, and has within it a remarkable cave. The entry into this cave is at bottom, and before it we found a great flat stone, like a large tomb-stone, placed edgewise, having on the outside certain barbarous carvings, like snakes encircled, but without heads. The entry was guarded all along on each side with such rude stones, pitched on end, some of them having the same carvings, and other vast ones laid a-cross these at top. The out-pillars were so close pressed by the weight of the mount, that they admitted but just creeping in, but by degrees the passage grew wider and higher till we came to the cave, which was about five or six yards high. The cave consists of three cells or apartments, one on each hand, and the third straight forward, and may be about seven yards over each way. In the right-hand cell stands a great basin of an irregular oval figure of one entire stone, having its brim oddly sinuated or elbowed in and out ; and that basin in another of much the same form. Within this basin was some very clear water which dropped from the cave above, which made me imagine the use of this basin was for receiving such water, and that the use of the lower was to receive the water of the upper basin when full ; for some sacred use, and therefore not to be spilled. In the left apartment there was such another basin, but single, neither was there any water in it. In the apartment straight forward there was no basin at all. Many of the pillars about the right-hand basin were carved as the stones above-mentioned ; but under feet there was nothing but loose stones of any size in confusion ; and amongst them a great many bones of beasts and some pieces of deers horns. Near the top of this mount they found a gold coin of the emperor Valentinian ; but notwithstanding this,

this, the rude carving above-mentioned makes me conclude this monument was never Roman, not to mention that we want history to prove that ever the Romans were at all in Ireland. The druid doctrine about the *Glain Neidr* obtains very much throughout all Scotland, as well the Lowlands as Highlands; but there is never a word of it in this kingdom, where it seems, in regard there were no snakes, they could not propagate it. Besides the snake-stones (whereof I procured some variety in Scotland) the Highlanders have the *snail-stones*, *paddoc-stones*, *mole-stones*, *bedge-bog-stones*, *kock-knee-stones*, *elf-arrows*, *duel-stones*, &c. to all which they attribute their several virtues, and carry them about them as amulets. The Irish have many more ancient manuscripts than we in Wales; but since the late revolutions they are much lessened. I now and then pick up some very old parchment manuscripts; but they are hard to come by, and they that do any thing understand them, value them as their lives. This province of Connaught abounds with figured fossils; but they are much the same with those in Wales, though several among them new. We have also met with some Alpine plants here that Britain no-where affords. At your leisure a few lines directed to be left with Mr. Richard Bulkeley, at the Blind-Key in Dublin, will be exceeding acceptable to.

Your most obliged humble Servant,

Edward Lhwyd.

DEAR SIR,

Oxford, March 10, 1701.

I WAS heartily glad to hear by the bearer of your good health, and thought it high time to beg your pardon for my long silence; and to assure you that being now returned hither and settled, I shall for the future be more mindful of my duty to my best friends. I came home but this week out of Bretagne in France, which I was forced to quit much sooner than I intended. For I had scarce been there three weeks when the intendant (*des marines*) of Brest, sent a provô three and thirty miles (viz. to St. Paul de Leon) to bring me before him. The messenger found me busy in adding the Armoric words to Mr. Ray's *Dictionariolum Trilingue*, with a great many letters and small manuscripts about the table, which he immediately secured, and then proceeded to search our pockets for more. All these papers he tied up in a napkin, and requiring me to put three seals thereon, added three more of his

own. I told him I had brought letters of recommendation to the theologal of the city, who is the third person in the diocese; upon which he went with me to him. The gentleman owned it, and delivered him the letter, adding another in our behalf to his master, the intendant, and a third to a captain of a man of war at Brest. Having secured our papers, he granted us the favour of going to Brest before them, a-part, that the country might not take notice of our being prisoners. Upon our appearance before the intendant, he never troubled us with examination, but ordered us forthwith to the castle: and next day the jailor brought us word from him, that we must find for ourselves, for that we should not have the benefit of the usual allowance for the king's prisoners, which was a livre (or one shilling and eight-pence) a-day. Upon this we replied, we had no money, but only letters of credit upon merchants in some towns we designed to travel through; and so quarrelled with our jailor, refusing to take any meat or wine from him on such terms: which we did, because we found we did not lie much under mercy, having a ground room and the conveniency of receiving through a window any thing that was necessary; which some Irish soldiers in the castle would bring us for our money. Next day he brought us word, we were allowed fifteen-pence a-day; and that allowance we had, together with tolerable good white wine for three-pence a-quart, during our confinement, which was just eighteen days. When we had been there a week, we thought it high time to draw up a petition, that we might be examined, &c. But this being writ in Latin, the captain above-mentioned, to whom I sent it in order to be presented, desired to be excused, in regard the intendant was not conversant in that language. However, next day he sent for us out, and then shewed us our mail of papers and the seals entire; and opening it, they required me to mark each particular paper and book, and also write my name on them all. After this they were delivered to an interpreter, who kept them about nine days, and though many of them were writ in Welsh and some in Cornish, yet he rightly concluded from the nature of the rest, they contained nothing of treason, and bearing the character of an interpreter, he was loth to own himself puzzled; so told them in general, without any exception, none of my papers related to state-matters, upon which we were dismissed, and had all our papers restored, but denied a pass to Paris, and ordered to depart the kingdom; the provô telling us, the war was already declared against the emperor, the Dutch and the English. About a fortnight before they seized us, they had secured two other English gentlemen,

men, both Londoners, one Mr. Taylor, a merchant, and one Keck, formerly a lieutenant in a man of war under his present majesty, who told me he was well acquainted with Mr. Maurice Owen of Holy-Head, &c. These gentlemen (tho' the provô acknowledged to me they had nothing against them) fared much worse than we did; being committed to the common town-jail, confined double the time, and yet not one farthing allowed them. So much for our coarse welcome in France, which prevented almost all the enquiries I designed, into the language, customs and monuments of that province. For all we could do was but to pick up about twenty small printed books in their language, which are all, as well as ours, books of devotion, with two folios published in French; the one containing the history of Bretagne, the other the lives of the Armorican saints. I had been before in Cornwall during the space of three or four months; and coming hither found that the Armorican and Cornish differed less than the present English of the vulgar in the north from those of the west of England; but in respect of us the difference is greater. The Cornish is much more corruptly spoken than the Armorican; as being confined to half a score parishes towards the Land's-End; whereas the other is the common language of a country almost as large as Wales. I had taken directions about ancient British manuscripts in some of their convents, and some persons noted for their skill in the language and antiquities of their country, but was not allowed time to consult either men or books, or to view any of their old monuments, so that I shall be able to say little of that country, besides what relates to their language. Dr. Lister in his Journey to Paris mentions one Pezron, abbot of Charmoise, as a great critic in the Armorican language and antiquities, adding he had settled a correspondence between him and me: but I could never yet, though I writ twice or thrice according to the doctor's directions, obtain one line from him. I have procured transcripts of the only three manuscripts extant in the Cornish. The oldest is a poem of the passion of our Saviour, written on parchment about two hundred years since; the others contain several operas or plays, all out of the Scripture. Their language comes nearest that dialect of the British called in Dr. Davies *Gwenbwyseg*, or the language of Monmouth and Glamorgan.

I discovered there some old inscriptions not observed before, probably about a thousand years standing, viz. the tomb-stones of *Ciris ap Cynfor*, *Rhirwalhfran ap Cynwal*, *Cenadbaf ap Ycbdinw*, and *Cnegwey ap Ennian*: three whereof have places near these monuments denominated from them, though (because they could not read them) none suspected it before, or believed

believed my reading. The places are called *Pol* (i. e. *Pwllb*) *Ciris*, *Gonfal Church*, and *Mân* (i. e. *Maen*) *Cneg*. The modern Cornish seem to me a colony of the Armoricans from their language and habit; which is also agreeable with our British history. For one may observe from the names of places that another people once possessed that country, as one may from the names of places in some parts of Wales gather that the Irish nation once inhabited there, particularly in Brecknockshire and Caermarthenshire, where the lakes are called *Lhychæ*, and the high mountains *Bannæ*; as they commonly are throughout the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland. I had no opportunity (though had I been aware of what happened I could have made better use of my time) of observing any remains of Druidism amongst the Bretons; but the Cornish retain variety of charms, and have still towards the Land's-End the amulets of *Maen Magal* and *Glain Neidr*, which latter they call a *Melpref* or *Milpref*, and have a charm for the snake to make it, when they have found one asleep, and stuck a hazle-wand in the centre of her spirce, &c.

Cornwal affords store of those barbarous monuments we have in Wales: some whereof are also, I presume, in all our neighbouring countries of Europe, viz. *Meini Gwyr* (or stones pitched circularly) *Cromleicb*, *Cryg* or *Gorsedb*, *Caer*, *Carn*, &c. Of these in our small progress in Bretagne, we met with only the *Cryg* and *Caer*, but were informed also of the circular stones. I have in Cornwall observed of those British towns you shewed me in your neighbourhood, and we have draughts of them as of all things else that occurred. I have no mind to take hand from paper, but time not permitting me to trouble you farther, I only add my most humble and dutiful respects to Mr. B***** and Mr. L*****, and that nothing can be more welcome here than a few lines directed at your leisure to,

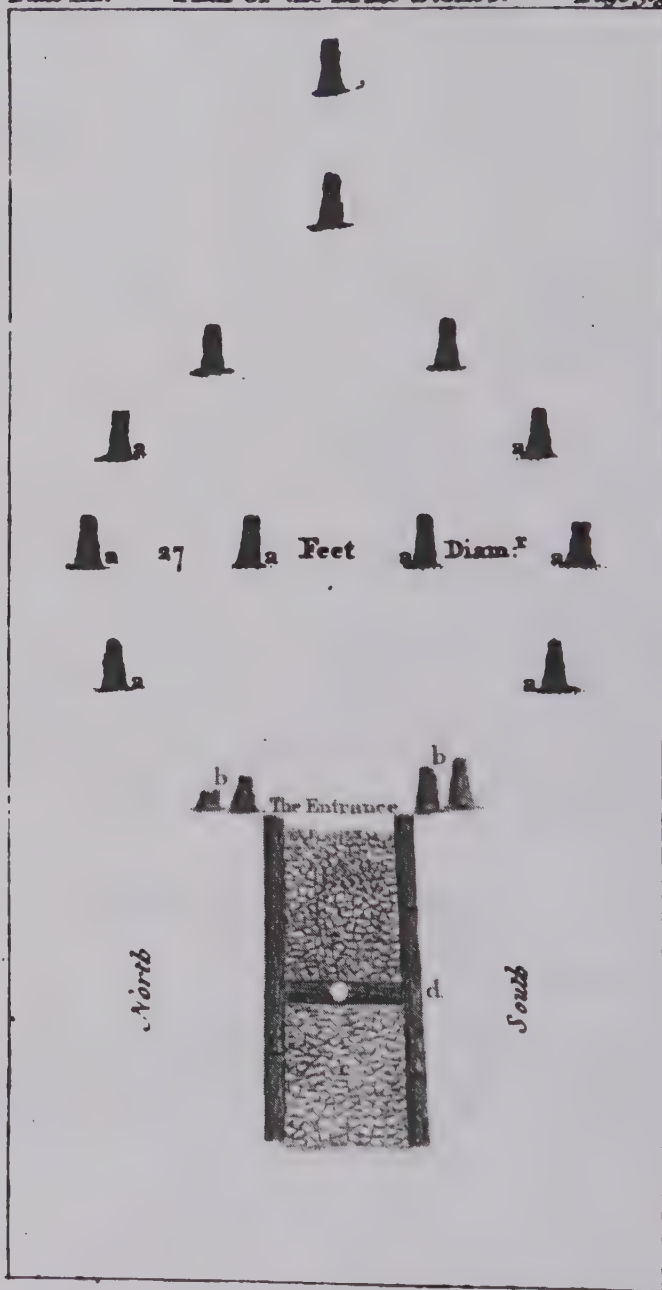
S I R,

Your much obliged Friend and Servant,

Edward Lhwyd.

The reader, I hope, will pardon the digressive part of this letter, for that it introduces the latter and more instructive part; and with some readers the whole perhaps will not be unentertaining; it is therefore wholly inserted.





Of the BRIDE STONES.

TO these Letters it may not be improper to add the following, which contains the description of an ancient Druidical monument, called the *Bride Stones*; and was communicated to us by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Malbon, rector of Congleton in Cheshire. It is not only curious in itself; but is nearly allied to the subject of this book, and serves to confirm some remarks which our author has made in the foregoing Essays.

The *Bride Stones* are in the parish of Biddulph in the county of Stafford; and stand on a rising ground in the break or opening between the Cloud and Woof-Lowe—which are two of the chain of hills that run through Staffordshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire, into Scotland.

A A, &c. * are six upright free stones, from three to six feet broad, of various heights and shapes, fixed about six feet from each other in a semicircular form, and two within, where the earth is very black, mixed with ashes and oak-charcoal. It is apprehended the circle was originally complete, and twenty-seven feet in diameter; for there is the appearance of holes where stones have been, and also of two single stones, one standing East of the circle, at about five or six yards distance, and the other at the same distance from that.

B B are rough, square, tapering stones, four feet three inches broad, and two feet thick. One on the North side is broken off, as is part of the other.

C C is the pavement of a kind of artificial cave. It is composed of broken pieces of stones about two inches and a half thick, and laid on pounded white stones about six inches deep; two inches of the upper part of which are tinged with black, supposed from the ashes falling through the pavement, which was covered with them and *oak-charcoal*, about two inches thick. Several bits of bones were also found, but so small that it could not be discovered whether they were human or not.

The sides of this cave, if I may so call it, were originally composed of two unhewn free stones, about eighteen feet in length, six in height, and fourteen inches thick at a medium. Each of them is now broken into two.

* See plate XIII.

D is a partition stone standing across the place, about five feet and a half high, and six inches thick. A circular hole is cut through this stone, about nineteen inches and a half in diameter.

The whole was covered with long, unhewn, large, flat free stones, since taken away. The height of the cave from the pavement to the covering is five feet and ten inches.

The entrance was filled up with free stones and earth, supposed to be dust blown by the wind from year to year in dry weather. •

There remains another place of the same construction, but smaller, and without any inward partition, about fifty-five yards distant from this. It is two yards and a half long, two feet and a half broad, and three feet two inches high. There is also a part of another.

There was a large heap of stones that covered the whole, an hundred and twenty yards long, and twelve yards broad. These stones have been taken away from time to time by masons and other people, for various purposes. And in the year 1764, several hundred loads were carried away for making a turnpike-road about sixty yards from this place, which laid it open for examination.

This ancient sacred place was probably covered, says Mr. Malbon, with this great heap of stones to conceal and preserve it at the time the Druids were on the decline. But we rather think, as these *Carnedd* or heaps of stones were a general appurtenance of Druidical worship, that this, though of a different figure from those commonly known, made a real part of the original structure.

A
C A T A L O G U E

OF THE

Representatives in Parliament

FOR THE

C O U N T Y O F A N G L E S E Y,

FROM THE

Thirty-Third Year of King HENRY VIII. to this Time.

ANGLESEY.

BEAUMARES.

H E N R Y V I I I.

An Reg.

33. A T Westminster, ——— | R Ichard ap Rhydderch of My-
torn off the file fyron, Esq.

E D W A R D V I.

1. Westminster, ———	John ap Robert Lloyd, Esq.
torn off the file	
6. Westminster, Lewis Owen ap	Maurice Gryffyth of Plas Newydd,
Meurick of Frondêg, Esq.	Esq.

It is said, that the three first burgeses were returned for Newborough,
and not for Beaumares.

T t

M A R I Æ

ANGLESEY.

BEAUMARES.

M A R I Æ.

A.R.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Westminster, William Lewis of Presaddfed, Esq. | Rowland Bulkeley of Parthamek, Esq. |
| 1. Oxford, Sir Rich. Bulkeley, Kt. | Rowland Bulkeley, Esq. |

P H I L. & M A R I Æ.

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1, 2. Westminster, Sir Rich. Bulkeley, Kt. | —————, Merchant |
| 2, 3. Westminster, William Lewis of Presaddfed, Esq. | Hugh Goodman, Merchant |
| Westminster, Rowland Meredydd of Bodowyr, Esq. | William Prees ap Howel |

E L I Z A B E T H Æ.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Westminster, Rowland Meredydd, Esq. | ————— torn off the file |
| 5. Westminster, Rich. Bulkeley, Esq. | William ap Rees, Gentleman |
| 13. ———, Sir Richard Bulkeley, Kt. | William Bulkeley, Gentleman |
| 14. Westminster, Lewis Owen ap Meyrick, Esq. | Rowland Kenrick, Gentleman. He was town-clerk of Beaumares |
| 27. Westminster, Owen Holland of Berw, Esq. | Thomas Bulkeley, Gentleman |
| 28. Westminster, Sir Henry Bag-nal of Plas Newydd, Kt. | Thomas Bulkeley, junior, Esq. |
| 31. Westminster, Thomas Bulkeley of Llangefni, Esq. | Thomas Bulkeley, Esq. |
| 35. Westminster, William Glyn, Gentleman | Thomas Bulkeley, Esq. |
| 39. Westminster, Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Esq. | William Jones of Castellmarch, Esq. |
| 43. Westminster, Thomas Holland of Berw, Esq. | William Maurice of Clenengney, Esq. |

JACOBI I.

A.R.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Westminster, Sir Rich. Bulkeley, Kt. | William Jones of Castellmarch, Esq. |
| 12. Westminster, _____, lost off the file | _____ lost off the file |
| 18. Westminster, Richard Williams of Llystulas, Gentleman | Sampson Evans, Esq. |
| 21. Westminster, John Mostyn of Tregarnedd, Esq. | Charles Jones of Castellmarch, Esq. |

CAROLI I.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Westminster, Sir Sackvil Tre-
for, Kt. | Charles Jones, Esq. |
| 1. Westminster, Sir Rich. Bulkeley, Kt. | Charles Jones, Esq. |
| 3. Westminster, Richard Bulkeley, Esq. | Charles Jones, Esq. |
| 15. Westminster, John Bodwel, Esq. | Charles Jones, Esq. |
| 16. Westminster, John Bodwel, Esq. | John Gryffyth, senior, of Cefn Am-
mwlch, Esq. |

The worthy collector of these names took no notice of the long parliament, nor of any other convention, till the parliament of the twelfth year of king Charles the Second.

CAROLI II.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 12. Westminster, right honourable Robert Viscount Bulkeley | Gryffyth Bodwrda, Esq. |
| 13. Westminster, Nicholas Bagnal of Plas Newydd, Esq. | Col. William Robinson of Manachty; Sir Heneage Finch quitting it |
| 30. Westminster, Henry Bulkeley, Esq. | Richard Bulkeley, Esq. |
| 31. Westminster, Henry Bulkeley, Esq. | Richard Bulkeley, Esq. |
| 32. Oxford, Richard Bulkeley, Esq. | Henry Bulkeley, Esq. |

ANGLESEY.

BEAUMARES.

JACOBI II.

A.R.

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| 1. Westminster, right honourable
Robert Viscount Bulkeley | Henry Bulkeley, Esq. |
|--|----------------------|

WILL & MARIAE.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Westminster, honourable Thomas Bulkeley, Esq. | Sir William Williams of Llanfor-
da, Kt. and Bart. |
| 2. Westminster, right honourable
Richard Viscount Bulkeley | Hon. Tho. Bulkeley, Esq. Sir Wil-
liam Williams of Faenol dying,
who was first chosen |

WILLIAM III.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 7. Westminster, right honourable
Richard Viscount Bulkeley | Sir William Williams of Llanfor-
da, Kt. and Bart. |
| 10. Westminster, right honourable
Richard Viscount Bulkeley | Owen Hughes of Beaumares, Esq. |
| 12. Westminster, right honourable
Richard Viscount Bulkeley | Conningby Williams of Marian,
Esq. |
| 13. Westminster, right honourable
Richard Viscount Bulkeley | Honourable Robert Bulkeley, Esq; |

ANNÆ.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Westminster, right honourable
Richard Viscount Bulkeley | Honourable Robert Bulkeley, Esq.
He dying, Conningby Williams,
Esq. was returned |
| 4. Westminster, right honourable
Richard Viscount Bulkeley,
his father dying, who had
been returned | Honourable Henry Bertie, Esq.
brother to Lady Bulkeley |
| 9. Westminster, right honourable
Richard Viscount Bulkeley | Honourable Henry Bertie, Esq. |
| 12. Westminster, right honourable
Richard Viscount Bulkeley | Honourable Henry Bertie, Esq. |

GEORGE

ANGLESEY.

BEAUMARES.

GEORGE I.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| . Westminster, Owen Meyrick
of Bodorgan, Esq. | Honourable Henry Bertie, Esq. |
| 1. Westminster, right honourable
Richard Viscount Bulkeley | Honourable Henry Bertie, Esq. |

GEORGE II.

- | | |
|---|--|
| . Westminster, Hugh Williams
of Chester, Esq. | Sir Watkin Williams Wynne of
Wynstay, Bart. |
| 1. Westminster, Sir Nicholas Bayly
of Plas Newydd, Bart. | Right honourable Richard Viscount
Bulkeley |
| 5. Westminster, John Owen of
Presaddfed, Esq. | Right honourable James Viscount
Bulkeley |
| 1. Westminster, Sir Nicholas Bay-
ly, Bart. | The same |
| 3. Westminster, the same | Richard Price of Faenor, Esq. |

GEORGE III.

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. Westminster, Owen Meyrick
of Bodorgan, Esq. | The same |
|---|----------|

C A T A L O G U E

OF THE

SHERIFFS OF ANGLESEY,

FROM THE

Time they were first appointed by Act of Parliament.

Anno Regni.		A. D.
Henrici VIII.	R ICE ap Llewelyn ap Hwlkyn of Bodychen, during life	
	32 Rowland Griffith of Plas Newydd, Esq.	1541
	33 Sir Richard Bulkeley, Kt.	1542
	34 John ap Rees ap Llewelyn ap Hwlkyn, Esq.	1543
	35 William Bulkeley of Porthamel, Esq.	1544
	36 Rhydderch ap David of Myfyrian, Esq.	1545
	37 Richard Hampton of Henllys, Esq.	1546
Edvardi VI.	1 Sir Richard Bulkeley of Baronhill, Kt.	1547
	2 Rowland Griffith of Plas Newydd, Esq.	1548
	3 William Lewis of Presaddfed, Esq.	1549
	4 David ap Rees ap David ap Gwilym of Llwydiart	1550
	5 Hugh Peake of Caernarfon, Esq.	1551
	6 Sir Richard Bulkeley, Kt.	1552
	7 Rowland Griffith <i>dies</i> , Rees Thomas, Esq.	1553
Mariz.	1 Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn, Esq.	1554
	2 John ap Rees ap Llewelyn ap Hwlkyn of Bodychen, Esq.	1555
	3 Thomas ap William of Faenol, Esq.	1556
	3.	Robert

MONA ANTIQUA RESTAURATA. 327

Anno Regni.		A. D.
	4 Robert Bulkeley of Gronant, Esq.	1557
	5 William Lewis of Presaddfed, Esq.	1558
Elizabethæ.	1 Lewis ap Owen ap Meurick of Frondêg. Esq.	1559
	2 Sir Nicholas Bagnal of Ireland, Kt.	1560
	3 Sir Richard Bulkeley of Baronhill, Kt.	1561
	4 Maurice Griffith of Plas Newydd, Esq.	1562
	5 Owen ap Hugh of Bodeon, Esq.	1563
	6 Rice Thomas of Aber, Esq.	1564
	7 Richard Owen of Penmynydd, Esq.	1565
	8 John Lewis of Presaddfed, Esq.	1566
	9 David ap Rees ap David ap Gwilym, Esq.	1567
	10 Richard White of Monachlog, Esq.	1568
	11 Rowland Bulkeley of Porthamel, Esq.	1569
	12 Sir Richard Bulkeley of Baronhill, Kt.	1570
	13 Lewis Owen ap Meurick of Frondêg, Esq.	1571
	14 William Lewis of Presaddfed, Esq.	1572
	15 Richard Owen of Penmynydd, Esq.	1573
	16 John Wynne ap Jenkin ap John of Hirdrefraig, Esq.	1574
	17 Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn, Esq.	1575
	18 Edward Conway of Bodtryddan, Esq.	1576
	19 Owen Wood of Rhosmor, Esq.	1577
	20 Dr. Ellis Price of Plas Jolyn	1578
	21 William Thomas of Aber, Esq.	1579
	22 Owen ap Hugh of Bodeon, Esq.	1580
	23 Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Esq.	1581
	24 John Griffith ———, Esq.	1582
	25 Richard White of Monachlog, Esq.	1583
	26 Thomas Glynn of Glynllifon, Esq.	1584
	27 Maurice Kyffin of Mainen, Esq.	1585
	28 Dr. Ellis Price	1586
	29 John Griffith of Trefarthin, Esq.	1587
	30 Thomas Mostyn of Mostyn, Esq.	1588
	31 Richard White of Monachlog, Esq.	1589
	32 Roger Mostyn of Mostyn, Esq.	1590
	33 Owen Holland of Berw, Esq.	1591
	34 Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Esq.	1592
	35 John Griffith, Esq.	1593
	Richard	

Anno Regni.

A. D.

	36	Richard White of Monachlog, Esq.	1594
	37	Pierce Lloyd of Gwardog, Esq.	1595
	38	Arthur Bulkeley of Coyden, Esq.	1596
	39	William Glynn of Glynllifon, Esq.	1597
	40	Richard Bulkeley of Porthamel, Esq.	1598
	41	Owen Holland of Berw, Esq.	1599
	42	Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Esq.	1600
	43	Thomas Glynn of Glynllifon, Esq.	1601
	44	Richard Bulkeley of Porthamel, Esq.	1602
Jacobi I.	1	Pierce Lloyd, senior, of Lligwy, Esq.	1603
	2	William Lewis of Chwaen, Esq.	1604
	3	William Griffith of Trefarthin, Esq.	1605
	4	John Lewis of Presaddfed, Esq.	1606
	5	Richard Glynn of Glynllifon, Esq.	1607
	6	Sir Hugh Owen of Bodeon, Kt.	1608
	7	Thomas Holland of Berw, Esq.	1609
	8	William Owen of Bodeon, Esq.	1610
	9	John Bodfell of Bodfell, Esq.	1611
	10	Pierce Lloyd, junior, of Lligwy, Esq.	1612
	11	John Wynne Edward of Bodewryd, Esq.	1613
	12	Owen Wood of Llangwyfan, Esq.	1614
	13	Richard Meyrick of Bodorgan, Esq.	1615
	14	Hugh Lewis ap Howel of Llachylched, Esq.	1616
	15	Richard Williams of Llysduelas, Esq.	1617
	16	John Lewis of Presaddfed, Esq.	1618
	17	Sir William Glynn of Glynllifon, Kt.	1619
	18	Henry Lloyd of Bodwiney, Esq.	1620
	19	Hugh Wynne of Mossoglan, Esq.	1621
	20	Sir Thomas Holland of Berw, Kt.	1622
	21	Richard Owen of Penmynydd, Esq.	1623
	22	John Bodychen, junior, of Bodychen, Esq.	1624
	23	William Thomas of Cwyrth, Esq.	1625
Caroli I.	1	William Griffith of Trefarthin, Esq.	1626
	2	Hugh Morgan of Beaumares, Esq.	1627
	3	Edward Wynne of Bodewryd, Esq.	1628
	4	Richard Wynne of Rydcroes, Esq.	1629
	5	Thomas Glynn Llison, Esq.	1630

William

Anno Regni.

A. D.

6	William Robinson of Monachdy, Esq.	1631
7	Thomas Chedle of Lleiniog, Esq.	1632
8	William Owen of Frondeg, Esq.	1633
9	Hugh Owen of Bodowen, Esq.	1634
10	Edward Wynne of Bodewryd, Esq.	1635
11	Robert Wynne of Tre'r Gof, Esq.	1636
12	William Bulkeley of Coyden, Esq.	1637
13	Pierce Lloyd of Lligwy, Esq.	1638
14	Richard Bulkeley of Porthamel, Esq.	1639
15	Owen Wood of Rhosmor, Esq.	1640
16	Richard Meyrick of Bodorgan, Esq.	1641
17	Thomas Bulkeley of Cleifiog, Esq.	1642
18	Thomas Chedle of Lleiniog, Esq.	1643
19	William Bold of Tre'r Ddôl, Esq.	1644
20	Robert Jones of Ddreiniog, Esq.	1645
21	Robert Jones of Ddreiniog, Esq.	1646
22	Richard Meyrick of Bodorgan, Esq.	1647
23	Richard Meyrick of Bodorgan, Esq.	1648
Caroli II. 1	William Bold of Tre'r Ddôl, Esq.	1649
2	Owen Wood of Rhosmor, Esq.	1650
3	Pierce Lloyd of Lligwy, Esq.	1651
4	Henry Owen of Mossoglan, Esq.	1652
5	Rowland Bulkeley of Porthamel, Esq.	1653
6	Hugh Owen of Bodeon, Esq.	1654
7	William Bold of Tre'r Ddôl, Esq.	1655
8	Richard Wood of Rhosmor, Esq.	1656
9	Richard Owen of Penmynydd, Esq.	1657
10	Robert lord viscount Bulkeley	1658
11	Henry Lloyd of Bodwiney, Esq.	1659
12	The same Henry Lloyd	1660
13	Thomas Wood of Rhosmor, Esq.	1661
14	William Bulkeley of Coyden, Esq.	1662
15	John Lloyd of Llandegfan, Esq.	1663
16	Richard Wynne of Penheskin, Esq.	1664
17	John Owen of Maethley, Esq.	1665
18	Rowland Bulkeley obiit, Howel Lewis, Esq.	1666
19	John Owen of Penrhôs, Esq.	1667

U u

John

Anno Regni.

	20	John Glynn of Glynllifon, Esq.	A. D. 1668
	21	Rowland White of Monachlog, Esq.	1669
	22	Conningsby Williams of Peamynydd, Esq.	1670
	23	Edward Price of Bodowyr, Esq.	1671
	24	Richard Bulkeley of Porthamel, Esq.	1672
	25	Owen Williams of Groesfechan, Esq.	1673
	26	Hugh Williams of Whaen, Esq.	1674
	27	William Meyrick of Bodo:gan, Esq.	1675
	28	Thomas Wynne of Rydcroes, Esq.	1676
	29	Thomas Michael of Maen y Dryw, Esq.	1677
	30	Hugh Wynne of Cromlech, Esq.	1678
	31	David Lloyd of Llwydiart, Esq.	1679
	32	Thomas Wynne of Glascoed, Esq.	1680
	33	Rowland Wynne of Porthamel, Esq.	1681
	34	Robert Parry of Amlwch, Esq.	1682
	35	Owen Hughes of Beaumares, Esq.	1683
	36	Owen Bold of Tre'r Ddôl, Esq.	1684
Jacobi II.	1	Roger Hughes of Plas Coch, Esq.	1685
	2	Maurice Lewis of Trysglwyn, Esq.	1686
	3	William Bulkeley of Coyden, Esq.	1687
	4	Sir Hugh Owen of Bodowen, Kt. and Bart.	1688
	5	Henry Sparrow of Beaumares, Esq.	1689
Gulielmi	1	John Griffith of Garreglwyd, Esq.	1690
&	2	Samuel Hanson of Bodfel, Esq.	1691
Mariæ.	3	David Williams of Glanallaw, Esq.	1692
	4	Owen Williams of Carrog, Esq.	1693
	5	William Jones of Pentraeth, Esq.	1694
	6	John Thomas of Aber, Esq.	1695
	7	Henry White of Fryars, Esq.	1696
Gulielmi	8	Hugh Wynne of Tre Iorwerth, Esq.	1697
III.	9	William Griffith of Garreglwyd, Esq.	1698
	10	Pierce Lloyd of Llanidan, Esq.	1699
	11	Francis Edwards of Penheskin, Esq.	1700
	12	John Williams of Chwaen Isaf, Esq.	1701
Annæ.	1	John Wynne of Chwaen Wen, Esq.	1702
	2	Robert Owen of Penrhos, Esq.	1703
	3	William Owen of Cremlyn, Esq.	1704
			Hugh

Anno Regni.

A. D.

	4	Hugh Wynne of Crenlech, Esq.	1705
	5	Owen Meyrick of Bodorgan, Esq.	1706
	6	Owen Roberts of Beaumares, Esq.	1707
	7	John Sparrow of Beaumares, Esq.	1708
	8	John Griffith of Llanddyfnan, Esq.	1709
	9	William Lewis of Trysglwyn, Esq.	1710
	10	John Morris of Cell Lleiniog, Esq.	1711
	11	William Roberts of Caeau, Esq.	1712
	12	Thomas Roberts of Bodiar, Esq.	1713
	13	William Lewis of Llysdulas, Esq.	1714
Georgii	1	William Bulkeley of Bryn-ddu, Esq.	1715
I.	2	Maurice Williams of Hafodgarregog, Esq.	1716
	3	Edward Bayly of Plas Newydd, Esq.	1717
	4	William Bodvel of Madrin, Esq.	1718
	5	Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Esq.	1719
	6	Rice Thomas of Coedalen, Esq.	1720
	7	Thomas Lloyd of Llanidan, Esq.	1721
	8	Richard Hampton of Henllys, Esq.	1722
	9	William Owen of Penrhos, Esq.	1723
	10	John Griffith of Garreg Lwyd, Esq.	1724
	11	John Owen of Presaddfed, Esq.	1725
	12	Thomas Rowlands of Caeau, Esq.	1726
Georgii	1	Henry Morgan of Henblas, Esq.	1727
II.	2	John Morris of Celleiniog, Esq.	1728
	3	John Williams of Treiardedur, Esq.	1729
	4	Henry Williams of Trws y Marian, Esq.	1730
	5	Henry Powell of Llangefni, Esq.	1731
	6	Robert Hampton of Henllys, Esq.	1732
	7	William Evans of Trefeilir, Esq.	1733
	8	Robert Bulkeley of Gronant, Esq.	1734
	9	Richard Lloyd of Rhosbeirio, Esq.	1735
	10	Richard Roberts of Bodsuran, Esq.	1736
	11	Edmund Meyrick of Trefriw, Esq.	1737
	12	William Roberts of Bodiar, Esq.	1738
	13	Robert Williams of Penmynydd, Esq.	1739
	14	Robert Owen of Pencraig, Esq.	1740
	15	Rice Williams of Cwyrth, Esq.	1741

Anno Regni.

A. D.

	16 Hugh Jones of Cymunod, Esq.	1742
	17 Hugh Williams of Bryngwyn, Esq.	1743
	18 Richard Hughes of Tre'r Dryw, Esq.	1744
	19 John Nangle of Llwydiarth, Esq.	1745
	20 Henry Williams of Tros y Marian, Esq.	1746
	21 William Thomas of Glascoed, Esq.	1747
	22 William Lewis of Llanddyfnan, Esq.	1748
	23 Owen Wynn of Penhelkin, Esq.	1749
	24 Charles Allanson of Ddreiniog, Esq.	1750
	25 John Lloyd of Hirdrefraig, Esq.	1751
	26 Charles Evans of Trefeilir, Esq.	1752
	27 Bodychen Sparrow of Bodychen, Esq.	1753
	28 Richard Hughes of Bodwyn, Esq.	1754
	29 Hugh Davies of Brynhyrddin, Esq.	1755
	30 Charles Allanson of Ddreiniog, Esq.	1756
	31 John Rowlands of Perthllongdy, Esq.	1757
	32 Edward Owen of Penrhos, Esq.	1758
	33 Robert Owen of Pencraig, Esq.	1759
	34 Robert Lloyd of Tregaian, Esq.	1760
Georgii	1 Francis Lloyd of Monachdy, Esq.	1761
III.	2 Hugh Barlow of Penrhos, Esq.	1762
	3 Felix Feast of Bodfaw, Esq.	1763
	4 John Lewis of Llanfihangel, Esq.	1764
	5 Herbert Jones of Llynnon, Esq.	1765
	6 Hugh Williams of Ty Fry, Esq.	1766

A C A.

C A T A L O G U E

OF THE

BENEFICED CLERGY of the Isle of ANGLESEY,

FROM THE

Time of King HENRY VIII; with an Account of the Value in the King's Books, Patronage, &c. of the several Livings.

A B E R F F R A W.

A Rectory---St. Beuno---the Presentation thereof in the Prince of Wales.

Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{	Henry VIII.	£.	s.	d.
		Elizabeth	20	15	10
			20	7	6

Institution.

1560 **M**R. Richard Murien
 August 7, 1573 Henry Williams, Clerk, *per mortem* R. Murien
 June 29, 1604 John Thomas, M. A. *per mortem* H. W. He was brother to Sir William Thomas of Aber, Kt.
 March 29, 1643 Thomas Hughes, B. A. *per mortem* J. T.
 1660 Richard Rowlands, Clerk, *per mortem* T. H.
 Sept. 29, 1694 John Jones, B. A. *per mortem* R. R. He was a Merion-yddshire man
 Octob. 28, 1709 Hugh Wynne, M. A. *per mortem* J. J.
 Octob. 8, 1715 Owen Hughes, M. A. and B. L. L. He was chancellor of Bangor
 1740 Thomas Owen, M. A. *per mortem* O. H.
 Feb. 15, 1754 Hugh Williams, M. A. *per mortem* T. O.

LLANBADRIG.

A Vicarage in the Prince's Gift.

	£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> , { Henry VIII.	7	8	1
{ Elizabeth,	7	9	2½

Institution.

- 1546 **H**ugh Powel, Clerk
 John Hanton, Clerk
- June 27, 1614 William Hughes, M. A. *per mortem* J. H.
 Michael Roberts, M. A. after D. D. and some time
 principal of Jesus-College in Oxford
 Thomas Williams, M. A.
- October 16, 1663 David Lloyd, M. A. *per mortem* T. W.
- July 5, 1691 William Wynne, B. A. *per mortem* D. Ll.
- 1712 Owen Davies, Clerk, *per cession*. W. W.
 David Jones, Clerk, *per depriv.* O. D.
- Jan. 17, 1729-30 Owen Davies, Clerk, *per mortem* D. J.
- April 7, 1743 Robert Pugh, A. B. *per mortem* O. D.
- March 30, 1749 Hugh Parry, *per mortem* R. P.

L L A N B E U L A N.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath five Chapels under it; viz.
Llanfaelog, Llacbylched, Ceirchiog, Llanerchmedd, and Tal y Llyn.

Valued; <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	£.	s.	d.
	{ Elizabeth	23	6	8
		22	4	6.

Institution.

- M**organ Hughes, Clerk
 Jan. 23, 1542 John Powell, Clerk, *per mortem* M. H.
 August 6, 1548 Humphrey ap Richard ap John, Clerk, *per mortem* J. P.
 June 29, 1587 Hugh Edwards, M. A.
 March 19, 1609 Edmund Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* prior. incumb.
 May 16, 1617 William Hill, D. D. *per mortem* E. G.
 Evan Lloyd, M. A.
 Thomas Cæsar, D. D. son of Sir Julius Cæsar, master
 of the rolls
 John Kenrick, M. A.
 April 22, 1635 John Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* J. K.---He was brother
 of Dr. William Griffith of Garreglwyd, chancellor of Bangor and St. Asaph
 July 4, 1635 The said John Griffith was re-instituted, *Reg. present.*
 Michael Evans, B. D.
 Dec. 31, 1670 Evan Hughes, M. A.
 June 3, 1682 Henry Williams, M. A.
 Bishop Evans, *in commendam*
 July 9, 1713 Jenkin Evans, Clerk, *per cession. episc.*
 Dec. 1, 1746 Hugh Hughes, M. A. afterwards D. D. and dean of
 Bangor, *per mortem* J. E.
 Dec. 22, 1753 Thomas Lloyd, M. A. afterwards D. D. and dean of
 Bangor, *per mortem* H. H.

LLANDEGFAN.

A Rectory, in the Lord Bulkeley's Gift, hath one Chapel under it,
viz. *Beaumarès Church*.

Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{	Henry VIII.	£.	s.	d.
			20	0	0
	{	Elizabeth	19	11	8

Institution.

- Nov. 29, 1544 **A** Rthur Bulkeley, D.D. afterwards bishop of Bangor
 John Bulkeley, D. D. *per cession* A. B.
 June 14, 1545 John Lewis, *alias* Vaughan, *per mortem* J. B.
 July 2, 1555 Lewis ap John, Clerk, *per mortem* J. V. instituted *per*
 dean and chapter
 March 25, 1573 Rowland Bulkeley, deacon, *per mortem* L. J. presented
 by Sir Richard Bulkeley
 July 12, 1592 The said Rowland Bulkeley instituted again
 March 4, 1593 Launcelot Bulkeley, M. A. afterwards archbishop of
 Dublin
 March 15, 1619 John Lloyd, M. A. on the promotion of L. B. to the
 archbishopric of Dublin
 July 10, 1626 Rowland Chedle, M. A. *per mortem* J. Ll.
 William Williams, M. A. a Denbighshire gentleman,
 of Pont y Gwyddel
 Peter Wynne, M. A. a Flintshire gentleman, of Gop
 Dec. 5, 1683 John Jones, M. A. afterwards D. D. and dean of Bangor
 June 27, 1700 Kenrick Eyton, M. A. a Merionyddshire gentleman,
per cession J. J. D. D.
 April 2, 1720 Thomas Bean, B. A. *per mortem* K. E.
 March 30, 1733 Richard Ingram, Clerk, *per mortem* T. B.
 March 11, 1737 John Lewis, A. M. *per cession* R. I.
 1743 John Hughes, A. B. *per mortem* J. L.
 Nov. 16, 1754 John Hughes, A. B. *per mortem* J. H.
 1762 William Griffith, A. M. *per mortem* J. H. ---- Never
 instituted
 Dec. 3, 1762 Thomas Owen, M. A. *per mortem* J. H.
 April 20, 1763 Richard Williams, B. A. *per mortem* T. O.

LLANDDEUSANT.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath two Chapels under it, viz.
Llan Babo and *Llanfairynghornwy*.

Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	£. 20	s. 16	d. 2
	{ Elizabeth	20	17	6

Institution.

A Rthur Bulkeley, D. D. afterwards bishop of
 Bangor

- October 10, 1543 Thomas Bulkeley, LL. B. *per cession episc.* Bulkeley
 October 17, 1570 William Griffith, Clerk, *per mortem* T. B.
 March 22, 1587 Robert Morgans, M. A. *per resign.* W. G.
 January 3, 1591 Richard Brickdale, Clerk, *per depriv.* R. M.
 Bishop Bayly, *in commendam*
 October 9, 1626 Richard Hughes, M. A. *per cession. episc.*
 Michael Evans, M. A.
 October 13, 1670 John Edwards, M. A.
 August 23, 1687 Richard Hughes, Clerk
 January 10, 1693 William Hughes, M. A. *per mortem* R. H.
 July 4, 1707 William Price, B. A. *per mortem* W. H.
 June 16, 1713 Owen Lloyd, M. A. *per cession.* W. P.
 Feb. 25, 1731-2 William Morgan, A. B. *per cession.* O. Ll.
 July , 1742 Robert Foulkes, *per mortem* W. M.
 Dec. 29, 1746 Stephen Williams, A. B. *per cession.* R. F.
 August 6, 1762 Bulkeley Hughes, A. B. *per mortem* S. W.

LLANDYFRYDOG.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz.
Llanfihangel Trer Bardd.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	14	9	7
	{ Elizabeth	14	10	0

Institution.

John Robins, Clerk
 May 22, 1550 Reynald ap Griffith, Clerk, *per resign.* J. R.
 July 12, 1569 Rowland Thomas, LL. D. *per mortem* R. G.
 Nov. 13, 1570 John Rowlands, Clerk, *per resign.* R. Th.
 Nov. 11, 1577 Robert Morgan, A. M. *per mortem* J. R.
 March 22, 1587 William Griffith, Clerk, *per resign.* R. M.
 May 23, 1609 Robert Prichard, M. A. *per mortem* W. G.
 1623 Robert Marsh, Clerk
 ——— Jones, Clerk
 Humphrey Vaughan, Clerk
 July 15, 1670 Rowland Morgan, M. A.
 1678 Nicholas Stodart, Clerk
 May 19, 1691 Owen Davies, M. A. *per cession.* N. S.
 July 17, 1708 Owen Lloyd, LL. B. *per mortem* O. D.
 January 2, 1715 Francis Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* O. Ll.
 Feb. 20, 1722-3 Lewis Davies, B. A. *per mortem* F. G.
 Feb. 19, 1749-50 Nicholas Owen, M. A. *per mortem* L. D.

L L A N D D Y F N A N.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath three Chapels under it; viz.
Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf, Llanbedr and Pentraeth.

Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII. Elizabeth	£.	s.	d.
		40	0	0
		38	6	8

Institution.

- William Hughes, B. LL.
- Sept. 26, 1565 Richard Brigdal, Clerk, *per mortem* W. H.
- Feb. 28, 1591 Rowland Bulkeley, Clerk
- Nov. 13, 1593 Lancelot Bulkeley, M. A. *per mortem* R. B.
- Dec. 18, 1619 John Bayly, M. A. on the cession of L. B. being made
 archbishop of Dublin
- Sept. 5, 1620 Rowland Chedle, B. A. *per resign.* J. B.
- April 8, 1622 Hugh Griffith, B. LL.
- January 13, 1636 Thomas Bulkeley, B. A. *per resign.* H. G.
- May 20, 1642 Thomas Meredith, M. A. *per mortem* T. B.
- Nov. 19, Robert Morgan, D. D. afterwards bishop of Bangor,
per resign. T. M.
- Nov. 4, 1672 Edward Wynne, M. A.
 John Ellis, D. D. of Ystymlyn in Caernarvonshire
 Bishop Humphreys, *in commendam*
- Nov. 6, 1701 Robert Morgan, Clerk, *per cession. episc.*
 Bishop Evans, *in commendam*
- 1715 Bishop Hoadley, *in commendam*
- 1721 Bishop Reynolds, *in commendam*
- 1723 Bishop Baker, *in commendam*
- 1728 Bishop Sherlock, *in commendam*
- 1734 Bishop Cecil, *in commendam*
- 1737 Bishop Herring, *in commendam*
- 1743 Bishop Hutton, *in commendam*
- 1747 Bishop Pearce, *in commendam*
- 1756 Bishop Egerton, *in commendam*

LLAN ELIAN.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath three Chapels under it; viz.
Coedane, Rbospairio and Bodewryd.

Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	£.	s.	d.
	{ Elizabeth	14	1	8
		13	1	8

Institution.

	1560	Hugh ap Rhees, Clerk
June 13,	1573	Humphrey David Lloyd, Clerk, <i>per mortem</i> H. ap R.
May 29,	1577	Hugh Burches, M. A. <i>per mortem</i> H. Ll.
May 15,	1602	Morgan Davies, Clerk, <i>per resign.</i> H. B.
May 13,	1603	John Llewelin, Clerk, <i>per resign.</i> M. D.
August 29,	1612	Robert Prichard, M. A. <i>per mortem</i> J. Ll. John Lloyd, M. A.
March 15,	1619	William Lloyd, M. A. <i>per resign.</i> J. Ll. Rowland Lloyd, M. A. Owen Williams, Clerk
May 2,	1687	Thomas Vaughan, M. A.
June 15,	1699	Richard Jones, Clerk, <i>per cesson.</i> T. V.
Nov. 11,	1704	John Owen, B. A. <i>per mortem</i> R. J.
July 25,	1707	William Lloyd, B. A. <i>per mortem</i> J. O.
July 24,	1739	Robert Jones, B. A. <i>per mortem</i> W. Ll.
August 14,	1762	John Jones, B. A. <i>per resign.</i> R. J.
June 8,	1765	Thomas Vincent, A. M. <i>per cesson.</i> J. J.

LLAN EUGRAD.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath under it one Chapel; viz.
Llanallgo.

Valued, <i>Tempore,</i>	{ Henry VIII.	£.	s.	d.
		9	11	9
	{ Elizabeth.	9	11	0

Institution.

- August 2, 1550. William Nant, Clerk
Richard ap Evan, Clerk, *per mortem* W. N.
William Griffith, Clerk, *per deprivat.* R. ap E. *conjugati*
- August 9, 1574 The said William Griffith, *per mortem* R. ap E.
- Dec. 16, 1592 Richard Puleston, M. A. *per mortem* W. G.
- Sept. 1, 1592 David Rowlands, Clerk, *per resign.* R. P. He was
brother of bishop Rowlands
- Dec. 4, 1610 Hugh Griffith, Clerk, *per mortem* D. R.
- Nov. 5, 1617 Robert Griffith, M. A. *per resign.* H. G.
——— Payn, Clerk
Hugh Humphreys, M. A.
- June 8, 1668 Owen Wood, Clerk, son of Arnold Wood of Holy-
head, Gentleman
- Feb. 17, 1668 Edward Wynne, Clerk, *per mortem* O. W. He was
son of John Wynne of Bodewryd, Esq.
- Nov. 5, 1670 Richard Hughes, Clerk, *per cession.* E. W.
- October 21, 1687 Maurice Jones, M. A. a Denbighshire man, *per cession.*
R. H.
- May 29, 1697 Francis Prichard, M. A. *per cession* M. J. He was a
Merionyddshire man, and had been schoolmaster of
Beaumares school
- June 30, 1704 Rowland Griffith, Clerk, *per cession.* F. P.
- Nov. 8, 1712 William Wynne, B. A. *per mortem* R. G.
- March 17, 1717 Hugh Jones, M. A. *per mortem* W. W.
- October 1, 1735 Robert Jones, B. A. *per cession.* H. J.
- July 24, 1739 Lewis Owen, Clerk, *per cession.* R. J.

LLANGADWALADR.

A Rectory, in the Lord-Chancellor's Gift, hath one Chapel under it;
viz. *Llanfeirion*.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	16	7	11
	{ Elizabeth	16	9	6

Institution.

- R**owland Meyrick, *conjugat. & deprivat.* He was afterwards bishop of Bangor
- June 9, 1554 Thomas Jones, Clerk, *per deprivat.* R. M. *conjugat.*
- March 14, 1572 Richard Williams, Clerk, *per mortem* T. J.
- April 7, 1601 Owen Glynne, D. D. *per mortem* R. W.
- March 28, 1615 John Arthur, M. A. *per mortem* O. G.
- April 7, 1627 Robert Marsh, M. A.
Francis Meyrick, M. A. of Bodorgan
- Sept. 11, 1668 Lewis Coytmor, M. A. of Llanfairfechan
Hugh Wynne, M. A. of Menechtyd
Peter Wynne, M. A. of Gop
- February 6, 1683 Owen Davies, M. A.
- May 19, 1691 Nicholas Stodart, Clerk
- Nov. 22, 1722 John Ellis, M. A. of Bodlew
- March 10, 1723 William Williams, a South-Wales man, *per mortem* J. E.
- Nov. 29, 1725 Morgan Lewis, B. A. *per mortem* W. W.
- Mar. 11, 1730-1 Rowland Hughes, *per mortem* M. L.
- February 8, 1762 Owen Parry, LL. B. *per mortem* R. H.

LLANGEFNI.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz.
Tre Gaian.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	9	13	4
	{ Elizabeth	9	10	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Institution.

Hugh Clement, Clerk
Thomas Bulkeley, LL. B.

- Nov. 4, 1570 George Smith, LL. B. *per mortem* T. B.
 Sept. 14, 1608 William Hughes, M. A. *per mortem* G. S.
 October 20, 1614 Robert Griffith, Clerk, *per resign.* W. H.
 October 4, 1619 Owen Jones, M. A. *per cession.* R. G.
 1660 Owen Hughes, Clerk
 Sept. 18, 1669 Rowland Lloyd, M. A.
 Sept. 23, 1689 Robert Owen, Clerk, *per mortem* R. LI.
 July 17, 1707 Roger Morgan, M. A. *per mortem* R. O.
 May 28, 1723 Rowland Johnson, *per mortem* R. M.
 Jan. 17, 1729-30 William Evans, M. A. *per cession.* R. J.
 Feb. 28, 1731-2 Owen Lloyd, M. A. *per cession.* W. E.
 Mar. 21, 1740-1 Andrew Edwards, A. M. *per cession.* O. LI.
 July 10, 1753 John Lewis, B. A. *per cession.* A. E.

LLANGEINWEN.

A Rectory, in the Earl of Pembroke's Gift, hath one Chapel under it;
viz. *Llan Gaffo*.

			£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{	Henry VIII.	19	1	2
		Elizabeth			

Institution.

	H	Enry Symmonds, Clerk
June 5, 1564		Humphrey Brigdale, Clerk, <i>per mortem</i> H. S.
August 11, 1573		Owen Owens, M. A. <i>per resign.</i> H. B.
May 4, 1593		Owen Jones, Clerk, <i>per mortem</i> O. O.
March 6, 1603		Robert White, B. A. afterwards D. D.
		Edward Wynne, D. D.
		Owen Davies, M. A.
August 2, 1708		Thomas Holland of Berw, Clerk, <i>per mortem</i> O. D.
1747		Edward Jones, A. M. <i>per mortem</i> T. H.

H E N E G L W Y S.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz.
Trefwalchmai.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII. }	9	3	4
	{ Elizabeth }			

Institution.

- Feb. 13, 1551 **J**ohn ap William, Clerk
William Glynn, D.D. *per mortem* J. ap W. (after-
wards bishop)
- May 17, 1558 John Rowland, Clerk, *per cession episc.*
- January 2, 1578 Thomas Price, Clerk, *per mortem* J. R.
- Sept. 25, 1583 William Owen, Clerk, *per cession*. T. P.
- October 17, 1605 Hugh Thomas, Clerk, *per cession*. W. O.
- June 22, 1632 William Langford, M. A. *per mortem* H. T.
- March 5, 1632 William Stodart, Clerk of Treganwy, *per resign*. W. L.
Thomas Jones, Clerk
- July 12, 1662 Hugh Hughes, Clerk of Bodffordd
William Williams, M. A. changed it with John Row-
lands, brother of Richard Rowlands of Aberffraw
- May 4, 1668 John Rowlands, B. A.
Humphrey Humphreys, M. A. afterwards bishop of
Bangor
Rowland Williams, M. A. Vicar of Caernarvon
- May 14, 1684 Hugh Johnson, Clerk, *per mortem* R. W.
- October 24, 1691 William Hughes, M. A. *per cession*. H. J.
- January 10, 1693 John Jones, B. A. *per cession*. W. H.
- October 1, 1694 Hugh Griffith, M. A. *per cession*. J. J.
- October 2, 1712 Henry Thomas, B. A. *per mortem* H. G.
- Feb. 11, 1745-6 Robert Evans, A. B. *per mortem* H. T.

LLANIDAN.

A Vicarage, in Lord Boston's Gift, hath three Chapels under it; viz.
Llan Edwen, Llanddaniel Fdd, and Llanfair y Cwmwd.

Valued, *Tempore*, { Henry VIII. } *£. s. d.*
 { Elizabeth } 10 0 0

Institution.

David ap Rees, Clerk of Bodowyr: he was ancestor by the mother of the Johnsons of Llanidan
 Gregóry ap Llewelyn, Clerk

June 1, 1554 Lewis ap Evan ap Robert, Clerk, *per privat. G. Ll. conjugat.*

January 11, 1579 Jasper Price, A. M. of Bodowyr, *per mortem L. E.*

Feb. 13, 1581 The said Jasper Price, re-instituted on the queen's presentation

1626 Lewis Williams, A. M. *per mortem J. P.*

1666 Henry Williams, A. M. *per mortem L. W.* He was son of Thomas Williams, Clerk, rector of Llanfadrwg

Decem. 3, 1683 John Davies, M. A. *per cession. H. W.*

October 2, 1696 Henry Rowlands, Clerk, *per mortem J. D.*

1723 Hugh Wynne, LL. B. *per mortem H. R.*

Jan. 14, 1730-1 Lewis Hughes, Clerk, *per cession. H. W. LL. D.*

Feb. 5, 1732-3 Robert Lewis, A. M. *per mortem L. H.*

Mar. 16, 1747-8 Robert Hughes, A. B. *per cession. R. L.*

Nov. 2, 1756 Henry Rowlands, A. M. *per mortem R. H.*

NEWBOROUGH.

A Rectory, in the Lord-Chancellor's Gift.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	10	13	7
	{ Elizabeth	8	10	0

Institution.

- June 9, 1554 **H**ugh ap Robert, Clerk
 Robert ap Hugh, Clerk, *per privat.* H. R. *conjugati*
- May 29, 1596 Edmund Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* R. H.
- June 26, 1610 Robert White, M. A. *after D. D.* *per cession.* E. G.
 John Davies, M. A.
- Sept. 11, 1695 Hugh Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* J. D.
 Robert Humphreys, M. A. a Merionyddshire man
- June 14, 1705 Evan Jones, M. A. *per cession.* R. H.
- 1722 William Williams, M. A. *per mortem* E. J.
- June 13, 1746 Edward Jones, A. M. *per mortem* W. W.
- Jan. 9, 1746-7 Owen Jones, B. A. *per cession.* E. J.

PENYMYNYDD.

A Prebend of the Cathedral Church of Bangor, is in the Bishop's Gift.

Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	£.	s.	d.
		8	13	4
	{ Elizabeth	8	5	7½

Institution.

William Powel, Clerk.
Henry Rowlands, bishop of Bangor, *in commendam*

Robert White, D. D.

Simon Lloyd, Clerk

—— Gethin, Clerk

Owen Davies, M. A.

John Williams, M. A.

Robert Wynne, M. A.

Nov. 12, 1720 Owen Hughes, chancellor of Bangor

Feb. 18, 1740-1 Owen Lloyd, chancellor of Bangor

March 29, 1743 Hugh Hughes, A. M.

May 10, 1750 Peter Maurice, A. M. afterwards D. D. and dean of Bangor

1759 Egerton Leigh, M. A. *per mortem* P. M.

R H O S C O L Y N.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath two Chapels under it; viz.
Llanfair yn Neubwll and Llanfibangel y Traeth.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	10	6	8
	{ Elizabeth	10	5	0

Institution.

- May 18, 1558 William Glynn, D. D. made afterwards bishop
 Hugh Powel, Clerk, *per cession. episc.*
- July 13, 1583 Richard Williams, Clerk, *per mortem* H. P.
- August 21, 1601 Henry Parry, B. D. *per mortem* R. W.
- January 7, 1606 Owen Hughes, M. A. and B. LL. *per resign.* H. P.
- February 1, 1613 Owen Glynn, D. D. *per mortem* O. H.
- April 26, 1615 Evan Lloyd, M. A. *per mortem* O. G. a Denbighshire
 man
- April 29, 1663 Edmund Griffith Lloyd, Clerk
 Lewis Williams, M. A. of Glan y Gors
- July 4, 1671 John Gunnis, Clerk, a Caernarvonshire man
- June 3, 1672 John Jones, A. M. afterwards D. D. and dean of
 Bangor
 Richard Hughes, Clerk
- Sept. 15, 1708 Hugh Wynne, M. A. *per mortem* R. H.
- January 6, 1709 Simon Langford, M. A. a Denbighshire man, *per cession* H. W.
- Feb. 22, 1736-7 Thomas Owen, M. A. *per mortem* S. L.
- Sept. 22, 1753 William Griffith, B. A. *per mortem* T. O.

LLANRHUDDLAD.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath two Chapels under it; viz.
Llanfflewyn and Llanrbwydrus.

Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII. Elizabeth	£.	s.	d.
		14	11	6
		14	11	8

Institution:

Thomas Bulkeley, Clerk
 May 19, 1570 Hugh Morgan, LL. B. *per mortem* T. B.
 August 16, 1574 John Price, Deacon, *per mortem* H. M.
 May 27, 1616 Griffith Hughes, M. A. *per mortem* J. P.
 May 5, 1627 Thomas Cæsar, M. A. *per cession. episc.* He was son
 of Sir Julius Cæsar, master of the rolls
 April 15, 1633 Hugh Williams, B. D. *per mortem* T. C. D. D.
 October 8, 1670 Edward Price, M. A. *per mortem* H. W. D. D. He
 was of Llanllugan in Montgomeryshire
 January 8, 1671 Thomas Davies, M. A.
 1689 David Lloyd, Clerk
 June 21, 1699 Henry Jones, Clerk, *per mortem* D. Ll.
 June 30, 1704 Francis Prichard, M. A. *per mortem* H. J.
 Dec. 22, 1704 Ambrose Lewis, Clerk, *per mortem* F. P.
 January 1, 1729 David Doulsen, M. A. *per mortem* A. L.
 Feb. 7, 1730 Edward Bennet, *per cession.* D. D.
 March 17, 1755 John Hughes, Clerk, *per mortem* E. B.

LLANSADWRN.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift.

Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	£.	s.	d.
	{ Elizabeth	9	6	8
		7	18	6

Institution.

	William ap David ap Thomas, Clerk
June 5, 1582	John Richards, M. A. <i>per mortem</i> W. D. T.
January 8, 1588	John ap Llewelyn, Clerk, <i>per resign.</i> J. R.
May 13, 1603	Robert Sherman, Clerk, <i>per resign.</i> J. Ll.
Sept. 30, 1608	Hugh Lloyd, M. A. <i>per mortem</i> R. S.
August 19, 1609	Hugh Griffith, Deacon, <i>per cession.</i> H. Ll.
May 28, 1611	Robert Griffith, M. A. <i>per cession.</i> H. G.
Nov. 5, 1617	Hugh Griffith, Clerk, <i>per resign.</i> R. G.
January 8, 1635	Thomas Williams, M. A. <i>per resign.</i> H. G. LL. D.
	John Rowlands, Clerk, changed with
May 4, 1668	William Williams, M. A. He was schoolmaster of Beaumares school, a younger son of — Williams of Pont y Gwyddel in Denbighshire
	Henry Williams, M. A.
	Robert Humphreys, M. A.
October 28, 1691	Robert Owen, Clerk, <i>per cession.</i> R. H.
July 5, 1707	Owen Lloyd, A. M. <i>per mortem</i> R. O.
Mar. 1, 1741-2	Robert Lewis, A. M. <i>per mortem</i> O. Ll.
Nov. 3, 1747	Nicholas Owen, A. M. <i>per cession.</i> R. L.
Feb. 20, 1749-50	John Ellis, LL. B. <i>per cession.</i> N. O.
April 20, 1750	Edward Foulkes, A. B. <i>per cession.</i> J. E.
April 4, 1754	Henry Parry, A. B. <i>per cession.</i> E. F.
July 20, 1764	Henry Williams, A. B. <i>per mortem</i> H. P.

TREFDRAETH.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz.
Llangwysen.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	14	8	10
	{ Elizabeth	14	9	9½

Institution.

- L** Ewis ap Gwrgene, Clerk
 Dec. 11, 1546 David Owen, Clerk, *per mortem* L. G.
 June 26, 1561 Hugh Morgan, LL. B. *per mortem* D. O.
 August 7, 1564 David Lloyd ap Meredydd, Clerk
 Henry Rowlands, bishop of Bangor, *in-commendam*
 Dec. 30, 1606 Henry Parry, B. D. *per cession. episc.*
 August 18, 1618 John Meredydd, M. A. *per cession. Lud. Bayly episc.*
 William Hill, D. D. He married bishop Bayly's
 daughter
 Bishop Bayly, *in commendam*, again
 Sept. 30, 1626 Griffith Williams, D. D. *per cession. episc.* He was after
 dean of Bangor, and bishop of Ossory in Ireland
 David Lloyd, D. LL.
 July 16, 1642 Robert Morgan, B. D. *per resign.* D. Ll.
 William Lloyd, M. A.
 May 5, 1668 Hugh Humphreys, M. A.
 Lewis Lloyd, M. A. a Caernarvonshire gentleman
 Sept. 10, 1702 Hugh Wynne, M. A. *per mortem* L. Ll.
 Sept. 30, 1715 Owen Hughes, B. LL. and M. A. *per mortem* H. W.
 Feb. 18, 1740 Hugh Hughes, A. M. *per mortem* O. H.
 Nov. 16, 1744 William Hughes, A. B. *per cession.* H. H.
 Nov. 2, 1747 Robert Lewis, A. M. afterwards chancellor of Bangor,
 per mortem W. H.
 April 5, 1766 Thomas Bowles, D. D. *per mortem* R. L.

LLANTRISANT.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath four Chapels under it; viz.
Llecbynfarwy, Keidio, Gweredog, and Llanllibio.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	Henry VIII.	26	0	0
	Elizabeth	25	10	0

Institution.

- R** Obert Piggot, Clerk
 Sept. 24, 1556 Thomas Yale, D. LL. *per resign.* R. P.
 March 18, 1577 John Price, M. A. *per mortem* T. Y.
 January 20, 1578 Francis Broughton, M. A. *per resign.* J. P.
 March 15, 1594 Richard Gwynn, M. A. *per resign.* F. B.
 March 15, 1613 William Prytherch, M. A. *per resign.* R. G.
 Sept. 30, 1620 John Bayly, M. A. *per mortem* W. P. He was son of
 bishop Bayly
 Griffith Hughes, Clerk
 May 8, 1626 Hugh Williams, M. A. (after D. D.) *per mortem* G. H.
 October 7, 1670 Edward Wynne, M. A. of Bodewryd, *per mortem* H. W.
 D. D.
 Robert Wynne, M. A.
 Nov. 10, 1720 William Hughes, B. A. *per mortem* R. W.
 Dec. 28, 1744 John Owen, LL. B. *per cession.* W. H. afterwards chan-
 cellor of Bangor
 Novem. 8, 1755 John Ellis, LL. B. *per mortem* J. O. archdeacon of
 Merioneth

LLANFACHRETH.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath two Chapels under it; viz.
Llanengbedl and Llanfgehl.

Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	£.	s.	d.
		16	0	0
	{ Elizabeth	14	11	0

Institution.

- January 23, 1542 **M**Organ Hughes, Clerk
 June 18, 1566 William ap Robert, Clerk; *per mortem* M. H.
 Richard Bulkeley, deacon of Gronant, *per mortem* W. R.
 Henry Rowlands, bishop of Bangor, *in commendam*
 Dec. 30, 1606 Owen Hughes, M. A. and LL. B. *per cessionem* episc.
 March 5, 1613 Henry Parry, B. D. *per mortem* O. H. He was de-
 scended from one of the sons of Richard Owen Tudor
 of Penmynydd, a learned man, and grandfather to
 the late eminent divine Dr. Maurice, chaplain to his
 grace archbishop Sancroft
 William Owen, Clerk. He married Mr. Parry's widow;
 was son of David Owen of Penmynydd, Esq.
 June 14, 1645 Robert Lloyd, Clerk, a Denbighshire man, *per mor-*
tem W. O.
 William Williams, Clerk
 Rice Williams, Clerk, afterwards rector of Llandwrog
 May 1, 1668 Thomas Hughes, M. A. *per cessionem* R. W.
 Lancelot Bulkeley, B. D. *per cessionem* T. H. He was
 son of William Bulkeley of Coyden, Esq.
 Nov. 3, 1690 Pierce Lewis, M. A. *per cessionem* L. B.
 Nov. 3, 1693 John Anwyl, B. A. *per cessionem* P. L.
 June 15, 1699 Evan Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* J. A.
 April 8, 1703 William Wynne, M. A. *per cessionem* E. G.
 Feb. 13, 1705 Jenkin Evans, B. A. a South-Wales man, *per mortem* W. W.
 October 14, 1713 Th Vincent, A. M. a Merionyddshire man, *per cessionem* J. E.
 June 15, 1738 Richard Williams, B. A. *per mortem* T. V.
 Jan. 10, 1749-50 Henry Maurice, B. A. *per mortem* R. W.
 July 29, 1763 James Vincent, M. A. *per mortem* H. M.

L L A N F A E T H L U.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz.
Llanfwrog.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{ Henry VIII.	17	0	0
	{ Elizabeth	17	7	6

Institution.

- John Hughes, Clerk
- May 30, 1544 William Griffith, Clerk, *per mortem* J. H.
- July 13, 1554 Richard ap Evan, Clerk, *per privat.* W. G. *conjugat.*
- May 13, 1558 Richard ap Evan, *aforesaid*, Clerk
William Griffith, Clerk
- Dec. 30, 1587 Richard Glynn, M. A. *per mortem* W. G.
Bishop Bayly, *in commendam*
- Sept. 18, 1619 Thomas Davies, M. A. *per cession.* *episc.*
John Griffith, M. A.
Rowland Chedle, D. D. a Cheshire man
Owen Lewis, Clerk, of Gweredog
William Lewis, Clerk
- July 11, 1671 Edward Price, M. A. a Montgomeryshire man
Robert Foulks, M. A. a Denbighshire man, an eminent
physician
- June 7, 1683 Henry Williams, M. A.
- Nov. 7, 1704 Hugh Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* H. W.
- Nov. 27, 1712 Jenkin Evans, B. A. *per mortem* H. G.
- July 9, 1713 Henry Williams, M. A. *per cession.* J. E.
- July 15, 1741 Humphrey Jones, A. M. *per mortem* H. W.

LLANFECHEL

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz.
Llanddygwel, fallen to ruins many years since.

	Valued.	Temple.		£.	s.	d.
	{	Henry VIII.		11	11	3
		Elizabeth		11	11	6

Institution.

- H**ugh Clement, Clerk
 William Prytherch, Clerk
- Dec. 14, 1561 Hugh Williams, alias Coydane, Clerk, *per mortem*
 W. P.
- February 8, 1581 William Meyrick, LL. B. *per mortem* H. C.
 William Prytherch, M. A.
- 1623 Rowland Chedle, D. D.
- January 6, 1639 Edmund Price, M. A. *per resign.* R. C. D. D.
- January 11, 1643 Robert Lloyd, B. A. *per mortem* E. P.
- March 20, 1645 Henry Evans, M. A. *per cesson.* R. LI.
 David Lloyd, M. A.
- June 25, 1691 Robert Humphreys, M. A. *per mortem* D. LI.
- March 27, 1610 Thomas Jones, B. A. *per mortem* R. H.
- January 8, 1730 Richard Bulkeley, B. A. *per mortem* T. J.
- April 4, 1757 John Evans, A. B. *per mortem* R. B.

- LLANFAIR PWLL GWYNGYLL.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz.
Llandifilio.

Valued, <i>Tempore</i> ,	{	Henry VIII.	£.	s.	d.
		Elizabeth	7	6	8
			6	15	0

Institution.

1428		G	Riffith ap Eneon ap Gwilim, Clerk
1542		G	Thomas Kenrick, Clerk
August 14, 1543			David Moythe, Clerk, <i>per mortem</i> T. K.
January 15, 1583			David Morgan, Clerk, <i>per mortem</i> D. M.
October 20, 1602			Robert Parry, M. A. <i>per mortem</i> D. M.
October 18, 1606			Humphrey Roberts, alias Humphreys, M. A. and LL. B. <i>per cession.</i> R. P.
Sept. 20, 1617			William Thomas, Clerk, <i>per cession.</i> H. R. John Cadwalader, Clerk
Sept. 25, 1624			William Lloyd, Clerk, <i>per cession.</i> J. C.
1664			Roger Williams, M. A.
1666			Evan Hughes, M. A.
April 30, 1672			Hugh Griffith, Clerk
August 17, 1682			Henry Rowlands, Clerk, <i>per mortem</i> H. G.
January 25, 1723			Edward Price, B. A. <i>per mortem</i> H. R.
May 13, 1740			Robert Williams, A. B. <i>per cession.</i> E. P.
April 24, 1758			Francis Wynne, Clerk, <i>per cession.</i> R. W.

F I N I S.

The Reader is desired to correct the following

E R R A T A.

Page Line

- 34 5, 6 read *relics*
 24 read *whence it is*
 47 28 read חרם לוח
 48 8 read *later*
 52 15 read *matter*
 65 2 read *Dryw*
 84 5 read *Tref*, &c. where *v* is put for *f*, as it is in many other places
 100 10 read *feet*
 126 ult. read *ridged*
 130 ult. read *well as*
 172 note read *there are*
 173 ult. read *Dinefawr*
 234 note read *written*
 249 7 read *the most*
 272 34 for *one* read *not*

&c.

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